Approaches Towards Church Unity.

Edited by

Newman Smyth and Williston Walker.

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PREFACE

REUNION of the churches has become now a practical question. The end of the war leaves this as the next Christian thing to be done. Happily the sentiment for unity is rising and becoming a strong impulsive movement throughout the Christian community. It requires, especially among the leaders, in all the churches the will to unity. It demands also intelligent direction as well as a common venture of faith.

For this reason it seems now highly desirable that the materials for discussions and conferences concerning unity should be rendered as available as possible for the general public and for the use of ministers who may not have convenient access to large libraries. To make some contribution to this end is the aim of this publication, so far as the limits of a book not too large for general use may permit. The writers co-operating in it have accordingly avoided advocating or urging any particular plans or measures now pending for greater unification of the forces of the churches; but it has been their common object to present results of historical studies and vital principles of organic unity which should be taken into due consideration in any plans or common approaches towards unity. Besides the essays which constitute the main body of this volume, there have been added accounts of some conferences and endeavors in former times to seek the peace of the churches, of which our general histories have taken little note. They will be found to contain many expressions that are strikingly pertinent to present conditions. Some precedents and opinions also relating to special problems of unity have been included

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in the following pages. An appendix contains statements for convenient reference relative to plans and approaches now under consideration, and to which the attention of religious conventions and ecclesiastical bodies in the coming months may be called.

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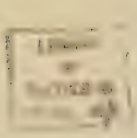

I

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH OFFICERS

NO problem in church history is more difficult than that of the beginnings of Christian organization, largely owing to the scantiness of the evidence, and the desire, manifested as early as the second century, to trace the beginnings of then existing institutions to the apostolic age. The utmost that can be done is to trace the scattered hints of the course of development and to confess ignorance regarding many stages in the progress where the evidence is insufficient for a clear judgment. There will appear reason to conclude, also, that while church organization had acquired a remarkable uniformity by the close of the second century, its course of development was not everywhere the same, and that its organs were unlike in different portions of the church during much of this period.

On the departure of its Lord, the leadership of the Jerusalem congregation was taken by Peter (Acts 1: 15). To him the conviction had first come that Christ had risen from the dead (I Cor. 15: 5), and he was in that sense the rock apostle on whom the Church was built (Mat. 16: 18). Peter it was who addressed the multitude on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2: 14), and was the spokesman in the early controversies with Jewish authorities and opponents (Acts 3: 4, 12; 4: 8; 5: 3, 9, 29). With Peter, John was associated with less conspicuity of leadership (Acts 3: 1, 4, 11;

4: 13, 19). This leadership appears to have been far more personal than as deference to apostleship, for when Paul made his first visit to Jerusalem as a Christian, James, "the Lord's brother," who was certainly not one of the Twelve, was eminent in the congregation (Gal. 1: 19), and by the time of Paul's second visit was one of those "reputed to be pillars" (Gal. 2: 9). A few years later James's leadership was not shared with others of anything like equal conspicuity (Gal. 2: 12; Acts 21: 18). The guidance of the Jerusalem congregation was therefore, long before the death of the leading apostles, in other hands than those of members of the Twelve. This development may well raise the question whether the author of "Acts" is not influenced by traditional ideas of development in representing the apostles as acting as a board as fully as he does (Acts 6: 2; 8: 14, etc.).

James, for some years before his martyrdom, about 63, was undoubtedly the head of the Jerusalem congregation. Second-century tradition, and many later scholars, have seen in this position an episcopate; but the term bishop is applied to James by no New Testament writer. On his death, though perhaps not till after the capture of Jerusalem and destruction of the temple by Titus, James was succeeded as ruler of the Jerusalem congregation by Symeon, the reason for the choice being, according to the gossipy Hegesippus, that "he was a cousin of the Lord" (Eusebius, "Church History," 4: 22). The prominence of those thus reputed kinsmen of Christ would seem to make the conclusion probable that we have here a rudimentary caliphate. At all events no similar succession is to be found, naturally, on Gentile soil. So peculiar in these respects were the Jerusalem conditions that no safe conclusions can be drawn from them as to development elsewhere.

The service of the Jerusalem congregation speedily required subdivision of labor. A dispute regarding the distribution of the daily food led to the appointment of a committee of seven to whom the task could be entrusted (Acts

6: 1-6). Whether this was the origin of the diaconate, as Christian tradition of the third century affirmed, or a special committee for a particular need, is impossible to say. The name "deacon" occurs neither in connection with them nor elsewhere in "Acts." Yet the functions entrusted to the men thus chosen were similar in nature to those later discharged by deacons in the Gentile congregations. One inference from this early act of the Jerusalem body may be justifiably made, namely, that it is always in the power of the church to constitute new agencies to meet new necessities as they arise. If primitive Christianity could meet the needs of its dependent widows by special appointments, modern Christianity can care for the religious training of its young people by the designation of a Sunday School superintendent, and such officers are of its "ministry" in the one case as truly as in the other.

In regard to one further organ of the Jerusalem congregation larger knowledge is desirable. In speaking of the relief sent to Judea from Antioch in the famine in the reign of Claudius, the author of "Acts" records that it was received by the "elders" (πρεσβύτεροι) (Acts 11: 30). No hint of the origin of the group thus casually designated is given. Hence most various interpretations have been given by scholars. By some they have been looked upon as identical with the Committee of Seven just mentioned, since their reception of the contribution would seem fitting for those whose duties were the superintendence of distribution. By more scholars they have been considered an adoption of the familiar officials of the synagogue. Others believe that the author of "Acts" has thrown back into a more primitive period the institutions of his own age. Yet others maintain that elders were not, in this early age, officers in any proper sense, but the older members of the congregation from whom leaders would naturally come. While the author of "Acts" evidently regards elders as officers (e.g. 14: 23; 15: 22; 20: 17, 28), countenance is lent to the view just named by the

very ancient document which he has preserved in connection with the Council of Jerusalem which it issued in the names of "the apostles and elder brethren" (Acts 15: 23). The matter is further complicated by the declaration of the author of "Acts" that Paul and Barnabas at the conclusion of their first missionary journey "appointed for them elders in every church" (Acts 14: 23), a statement which is without any confirmation in any of the epistles unquestionably ascribed to Paul, and which could hardly have escaped mention had it been an apostolic practice. Here it would seem well-nigh certain that the author is reading back the conditions of later years. Yet some scholars affirm that Paul and Barnabas, fresh from acquaintance with Palestinian Christianity, may here in churches prevailing of converts of Jewish antecedents have introduced the existing customs of Jerusalem. The scantiness of the evidence renders all dogmatic assertion unbecoming.

When Palestine is left for Gentile soil more light becomes evident, thanks to the contemporary witness of Paul's great epistles, though here many points are still tantalizingly obscure. Paul's epistles to the Corinthians, in particular, from their very subject, reveal of necessity an intimate view of the state of the Corinthian church,—one of the chief trophies of his missionary zeal and a prime object of his care. The outstanding fact that impresses the reader is that while Paul exercised a patriarchal authority over this church of his foundation (e.g. I Cor. 4: 14, 15; 5: 11; 7: 8, 25; 11: 34; 14: 37; II Cor. 11: 8-10; 13: 2), and employed his younger assistants in the work (e.g. I Cor. 4: 17; 16: 10; II Cor. 1: 19; 7: 6, 7; 8: 23), there are no traces of local officers to be found in the Corinthian church. The disgracefully disorderly scenes at the Love Feast and Lord's Supper (I Cor. 11: 17-34), and confusions at the meeting for instruction and worship (I Cor. 14: 26-40), would necessarily have involved an exhortation by the apostle to officers had any such existed. The nearest intimation of any

approach towards official position is the apostolic entreaty after commendation of the house of Stephanas, "the first-fruits of Achaia," "that ye also be in subjection unto such, and to every one that helpeth in the work and laboreth" (I Cor. 16: 15, 16). That, from its very terms, excludes Stephanas from any exclusive and peculiar authority. His was simply a free leadership in Christian good works. It will be well to bear this passage in mind as attention will again be called to it in connection with the rise of the theory of apostolical succession.

The most striking thing regarding the Corinthian church is the atmosphere of Christian enthusiasm. All the activities of the church are the direct result of the inspiration of the Spirit (I Cor. 12: 1-31. Compare Rom. 12: 3-8), all are "gifts." "God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, kinds of tongues" (I Cor. 12: 28). Some of these may well have been conceived as permanent. Paul undoubtedly so regarded his apostolate, which nevertheless he viewed as charismatic (Gal. 1: 1); but others might be possessed at one time and not at another, and many in the church might be vehicles of these endowments (I Cor. 14: 26-33). In the presence of this guidance of the Spirit, the need of the soberer and more prosaic local officers did not make itself immediately felt. This condition was in no sense peculiar to the Corinthian church (Acts 13: 1-3; Rom. 12: 3-8; Eph. 4: 7-11; I Thes. 5: 19-21).

Among these gifts of the Spirit there stand out pre-eminently in the Pauline list, apostles, prophets and teachers. The prime duty of the apostle was the founding and supervision of churches. The usage of the title was not at first strictly confined to the eleven faithful chosen by Christ, with the addition of Paul. Barnabas was so styled (Acts 14: 14). Silvanus and Timothy also were apparently so designated (I Thes. 2: 6). Andronicus and Junias were so

named by Paul (Rom. 16: 7). As late as the time of the "Didache" travelling missionaries bore the name apostle (Ch. 11). Usage, of course, applied the title chiefly to the eleven and to Paul. It was early felt that witness to the resurrection was an essential (Acts 1: 22; I Cor. 9: 1). Yet in the first generation many who never claimed the title apostle were witnesses of the resurrection (I Cor. 15: 6). A further criterion developed. The apostle must have been specially called by Christ to his work. That claim Paul's opponents denied to him, and his utmost endeavor was to assert its verity (Gal. 1: 1; 2: 8; II Cor. 11: 5; Rom. 1: 1). The successful vindication of that contention necessarily tended to limit the designation to the eleven and Paul. Clement of Rome, writing between 93 and 97, confines the title to the narrower group (Ch. 42). In that sense the apostles could have no successors. Their call had very widely, by the close of the first century, come to be regarded as a unique vocation by Christ for a special work. Surviving primitive custom, as exemplified in the "Didache," could still speak of travelling missionaries as apostles, but the more usual designation of those who proclaimed the Gospel without an immediate designation by Christ was "evangelist" (Acts 21: 8; Eph. 4: 11; II Tim. 4: 5).

Paul's second and third classifications of bearers of pre-eminent gifts of the Spirit are those of prophets and teachers (I Cor. 12: 28). Just what the difference between the two may have been it is impossible to say. The conjecture may be hazarded that the prophet was considered more the vehicle of revelation (I Cor. 14: 29-31), and the teacher more the instructor in already known truth or Gospel story. However that may have been, both classes were charismatic men, both were, like the apostles, those "which spake unto you the word of God" (Heb. 13: 7), and the authority of both was the inspiration of the Spirit. They might wander from congregation to congregation or they might settle in the community. They received the financial support of the

congregation in which they served (Didache, 13). What was the witness to the prophet that his message was from God is probably a mystery of consciousness that it is impossible wholly to fathom. Yet, if we may judge by the experience of Ignatius (110-117), it was an intense conviction of the truth that he uttered. Ignatius's message differed in no respect from his habitual teaching; but it was impressed on him with burning earnestness. "I cried out, when I was among you; I spoke with a loud voice, with God's own voice . . . it was the preaching of the Spirit" (Philadelphians, 7). To reject the Spirit speaking through these messengers was the unpardonable sin (Didache, 11).

The work last cited is of great importance as revealing the decline of this sense of direct divine guidance which burns so brightly in the Pauline churches, and the abuse of these claims to inspiration by the unworthy. The "Didache" does indeed present a picture so unlike the traditional portrait of the church of the sub-apostolic age that dogmatists have occasionally tried to discredit it by suggestions that it might represent the practices of some obscure or even heretical sect. This condemnation is wholly without warrant. What the "Didache" does is to present the survival of very early conditions in some rural eastern communities. The picture bears the traits of the Pauline churches, yet much altered. Apostles, prophets and teachers still speak the word of God,—of course apostles in the stricter sense are not meant,—but the church has had much sorrowful experience with fraudulent claimants to spiritual gifts. Their claims are still recognized, if genuine; but the faults must be guarded against (Ch. 11). The test here established is that which the Master had proclaimed: "By their fruits ye shall know them" (Mat. 7: 16). "Not every one that speaketh in the Spirit is a prophet, but only if he have the ways of the Lord" (Didache, 11). It is interesting to note that prophets survived in the great and then strongly organized Church of Rome well into the first half of the second

century, and that there the same test of their genuineness was applied (Hermas, Vis. 2: 4; Man. 11). To the writer of "First John" a test to distinguish true from false prophecy seemed also a necessity; but he found it in orthodoxy of doctrine (4: 1-6).

It is evident that by the dawn of the second century the older Pauline conditions were passing rapidly away. Charismatic gifts, though not denied, had become largely discredited. Apostles, prophets and teachers belonged to a state of development that was becoming more and more antiquated, even if the title teacher was to survive in rural Egypt till far into the third century (Eusebius, "Church History," 7: 24).

Side by side with this development of apostles, prophets and teachers in the Pauline churches we witness the development, apparently from much humbler beginnings, of a different order of functions, the exercisers of which were ultimately to become officers of overshadowing importance. The early Pauline churches were democracies, though democracies led by spirit-filled men. Paul called on the congregation at Corinth as a whole to exercise discipline on the unworthy (I Cor. 5: 3-5; II Cor. 2:5-11). Paul urged his churches to make free-will collections for the poor in Jerusalem; but left it absolutely to the congregation to choose who should bear the gift (I Cor. 16: 3, 4). These acts can hardly have taken place without leadership. Many interesting questions arise which our sources do not permit us to answer. Who called and led the disciplinary meeting? Who collected and cared for the money? Who entertained travelling missionaries? Who looked after the poor and the ill? Who led at the Lord's Supper, at least when the apostle was absent? Regarding the matter last mentioned the "Didache" would make it apparent that in its time the Lord's Supper was often in charge of the prophets (Ch. 10). For the early Pauline churches our sources are silent. It may have been the prophets and teachers who did these

things; but they were not always present or always inspired. Their primary duty was to speak the word of God.

Rather the beginnings, and the relatively humble beginnings, of such local ministrations as those just described, are to be seen in a group of services which Paul describes as "helps, governments" (I Cor. 12: 28), or are implied in his exhortation, "he that ruleth [let him do it] with diligence" (Rom. 12: 8). Paul could urge the Thessalonians: "to know them that labor among you and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you, and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake (I Thes. 5: 12, 13). The thought is wholly parallel to the commendation of the house of Stephanas who have "set themselves to minister unto the saints, that ye also be in subjection unto such, and to every one that helpeth in the work and laboreth" (I Cor. 16: 15, 16). These are not officers. They are charismatic men. They are the gift of the Spirit (I Cor. 12: 28); but they are also men whom the congregation could trust for leadership in "ministering unto the saints" in multitudinous local needs.

Then too, it is obvious that another leadership would grow up in the course of a few years. When first planted the members of the congregation would doubtless be of about the same brevity of Christian experience. A few years must have made a great change. There would be now those in the congregation older in years, and, what is more important, older in Christian experience. This note of respect appears when Paul writes: "Salute Andronicus and Junias, my kinsmen, and my fellow-prisoners, who are of note among the apostles, who also have been in Christ before me" (Rom. 16: 7). We have thus speedily a group of elders commanding high respect, and in many instances those, also, who "have set themselves to minister unto the saints." It will be recalled that the house of Stephanas was "the firstfruits of Achaia" (I Cor. 16: 15). It may be that the rise of "elders" (πρεσβύτεροι), on Gentile soil was an imitation of Jewish practice or of Palestinian usage; but the explanation just

suggested seems quite as probable. It explains why the term elder is lacking in the earlier Pauline epistles, and why it is to be found near the close of his life and in the literature of the generation after his death (e.g. Acts 20: 17; I Pet. 5: 1-5; James 5: 14). These Gentile elders may well have been at first in no respect officers, but they grew speedily into the position of official influence in the affairs of the local congregation which the passages just cited imply.

There was also a similar growth towards official status in the exercisers of the "helps" and "governments." In one of Paul's latest letters, addressing one of his oldest missionary churches, the Philippians, he speaks of "the bishops and deacons" (Phil. 1: 1). It may well be that these names are not yet descriptive of office, but of functions, "those who oversee and those who serve." The two classifications well characterize the duties of "helps" and "governments"; but the trend towards their consolidation into an official status is obvious. There are those now who with some considerable regularity, if not indeed with permanence, "oversee" and "serve." The same growth is seen, with an amalgamation of the functions of elder and overseer, in one of Paul's largest churches, that of Ephesus. For his farewell exhortation he summons the "elders" of the church to Miletus and addresses them as "bishops" (Acts 20: 17, 28). Their designation is charismatic, "the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops (overseers)"; but though still charismatic it is an enduement which gives them a special position in the church which they are to feed. Dischargers of functions are crystallizing into officers.

Thirty years after Paul's martyrdom, that which in Paul's last days is still in the gristle, has become firm and definite.

A quarrel had arisen in the Corinthian church which in Paul's time had been marked by divisions (I Cor. 1: 10-13; 3: 3-4). Certain "appointed presbyters" had been "displaced," who had "offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblamably and holily" (I Clem. 44: 54). The Church of

Rome sent a letter of protest and entreaty written in the name of the whole congregation, some time between 93 and 97. Though bearing no name save that of the Roman church, its author was unquestionably Clement. Clement has in high measure the Roman sense of order and regularity. Though prophets undoubtedly still continued in the Roman church, as Hermas makes evident some years later, and may possibly be indicated by Clement under the designation "rulers" (Ch. 1); his interest is in the presbyter-bishops, for he uses the terms apparently interchangeably. With them he mentions the deacons (Ch. 42). To him they are fully officers. They offer the "gifts." It could be wished that these ministrations were more fully defined, but the term would appear to include the service of prayer, the Eucharist, and the financial offerings of the congregation. They may have taught, but nothing is said of teaching. That function may have been exercised by the still existing prophets and teachers (Hermas, Vis. 2: 4; 3: 5). By the time of Clement the process has been completed by which those who exercised "helps" and "governments," who "oversaw" and who "served" have become fully permanent officers.

Yet this was not the most significant development. Not only were presbyter-bishops and deacons officers, Clement, first of Christian writers, presents the doctrine of a succession of apostolical institution in which they stand. His statement is as follows (Ch. 42, 44):

The apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God, and the apostles are from Christ. Both therefore came of the will of God in the appointed order. Having therefore received a charge, and having been fully assured through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and confirmed in the word of God with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth with the glad tidings that the Kingdom of God should come. So preaching every-

where in country and town they appointed their firstfruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe.

And our apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterwards they provided a continuance [law ?], that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those therefore who were appointed by them, or afterwards by other men of repute with the consent of the whole church . . . these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration.

Nothing could be clearer than Clement's theory of succession. The bishops and deacons of his day were in office as the successors of those originally appointed by the apostles themselves. It will be noted, however, that he does not say that they were successors to the apostles. They are in offices founded by the apostles. But fortunately Clement himself has given us a clue to test the historical accuracy of his conviction. He was thoroughly familiar with Paul's first letter to the Corinthians (see Ch. 37, 47, 49). He tells us that the apostles appointed their "firstfruits" as bishops and deacons. He is writing to the Corinthians. That is the very description which Paul had used of the house of Stephanas in Corinth in exhorting to "subjection unto such and to every one that helpeth in the work and laboreth" (I Cor. 16: 15, 16). Paul had not appointed Stephanas to anything. His household had been charismatic bearers of "helps" and "governments" when Paul wrote. Such exercisers of "helps" and "governments" had become bishops and deacons. Their office was now definite but their charismatic origin was now well-nigh forgotten. To Clement it doubtless seemed that the "firstfruits of Achaia" were appointed to offices identical with those which had developed out of the services then com-

mended in them. Furthermore, both at Rome and at Corinth, men like Clement doubtless remembered, or had heard of, a whole series of men, the spiritual antecedents of the existing bishops and deacons, who made an unofficial succession of servicé back to the "helps" and "governments" of Stephanas's day. The development had been a gradual one, but in claiming an apostolical succession, Clement was claiming too much. With the confident assertion of apostolical succession Clement had laid a corner stone of later episcopal authority.

Clement regarded the bishops and deacons of his age as in office by appointment by apostles or "other men of repute with the consent of the whole church." Just what this "consent" involved the sources do not permit a judgment; but any share in what was originally a charismatic enduement indicates a very considerable modification of primitive conditions. While Rome and Corinth might believe the succession of bishops and deacons traceable from apostolic times, that was not the conviction in other parts of the church. As we shall speedily have occasion to see Ignatius, himself, undoubtedly monarchical bishop of the great church of Antioch, writing to the churches of Asia Minor as late as 110-117, had no thought of an apostolical succession. In the "Didache" it is the unreliability of the prophets and teachers, and the necessity of providing for orderly worship and government in their absence that is the cause impelling to the appointment of bishops and deacons (Ch. 15).

Appoint for yourselves therefore bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men who are meek and not lovers of money, and true and approved; for unto you they also perform the service of the prophets and teachers. Therefore despise them not; for they are your honorable men along with the prophets and teachers.

While the prophets can still lead in worship in the words with which they are inspired, a simple liturgy is offered in

the "Didache" for the use of these less gifted bishops. There is no thought in their case of charismatic enduement. The apostolic age is of the past, but there is no conception of an apostolical succession. The choice of these bishops and deacons is simply by the church. It is evident that the development was not everywhere uniform.

In Clement's letter to the Corinthians from which quotation has been made, the presbyter-bishops are spoken of in the plural. The plural is also used of bishops in the "Didache." Polycarp's letter to the Philippians, written between 110 and 117, enters quite fully into the requirements for local officers, emphasizing the necessity of high character, their duties of care of souls, and of provision for widows and orphans (Ch. 5, 6). He speaks only of presbyters and deacons. It is incredible that Polycarp would not have described similarly the duties of a monarchical bishop had there been one in the church of Philippi. Ignatius, writing contemporaneously to the Romans, has no allusion to any monarchical bishop there. Hermas though described by the Muratorian Canon, about 190, as having written when his brother Pius was bishop of Rome, shows no trace in his work, which was composed between 115 and 140, of any monarchical bishop at Rome, and speaks expressly of "the elders that preside over the church" (Vis. 2: 4). Indeed, Rome does not seem to have had a monarchical bishop till Anicetus (about 154-167). Lightfoot's contention that the names enumerated in the traditional list of Roman bishops (Irenæus, "Against Heresies," 3: 3) were from the beginning those of "bishops in the sense of monarchical rulers of the Roman church." ("Apostolic Fathers. S. Clement of Rome," London, 1890, 1: 201-341, see 340) has been destructively answered by Harnack ("Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur," Leipzig, 1897, 2d Part, Vol. 1: 144-202). There is no reason to doubt that the persons named before Anicetus were historical characters, were influential in the Roman church,

and were of its presbyter-bishops; but, in view of the testimony of Clement and Hermas they were not monarchical bishops. It is plain therefore that till into the second century the older presidency of a group of presbyter-bishops, the origin of which has been traced to its informal beginnings near the close of Paul's life, persisted in Rome, Greece and Macedonia, and in the eastern region where the "Didache" was written.

A further stage in the development described is revealed in the Pastoral Epistles. These purport to be Pauline. They are not from Paul's pen as a whole, though fragments of brief Pauline notes may be imbedded in them,—more probably in "Second Timothy" than in "First Timothy" or "Titus." As a whole, their linguistic peculiarities show marked unlikeness to Paul's unquestionable letters. Their doctrinal outlooks show serious modifications of Paul's familiar emphases; and the rising heresies encountered in them were later in manifestation than Paul's time. They must have been composed before 110-117, since they are quoted in Polycarp's letter to the Philippians. A probable supposition would therefore assign them to the last decade of the first century or the first of the second century.

The Pastorals represent Timothy and Titus charged by Paul, as his representatives, with the duty of maintaining sound doctrine and repressing heresies in the church, with preserving good order and procuring officers of high character. It is Titus's charge to "appoint elders (presbyters) in every city" of Crete (1: 5). The character of bishops and deacons is fully described (I Tim. 3: 1-13; Titus 1: 6-9). The "office of a bishop" is one that can be sought (I Tim. 3: 1). It is not primarily therefore charismatic; though there is in Timothy a "gift" "given thee by prophesy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery" (I Tim. 4: 14). That, or a similar, "gift of God" is in Timothy "through the laying on of my [Paul's] hands" (II Tim. 1: 6). The bishop is spoken of throughout in the singular,

presbyters usually in the plural. This consideration would point toward the monarchical episcopate; but, on the other hand, the order of thought in Titus 1: 5-9, unless there is interpolation here, would seem to imply that bishops and presbyters (elders) are identical. It is therefore difficult to say whether the Pastorals recognize a twofold or a threefold distinction in office. In one important respect they exhibit a change from the situation presented by Clement. Nothing was said by him of teaching by presbyter-bishops. In the Pastorals teaching is a prime duty of the bishop or presbyter (I Tim. 3: 2; 5: 17; Titus 1: 9). It is plain that the functions of the prophets and teachers of Pauline days have been largely absorbed by the more permanent local officers. It could be said of the bishops and presbyters of the Pastorals as it was of the bishops and deacons of the "Didache," "for unto you they also perform the service of the prophets and teachers." The reasons for these changes are not far to seek. Not only were prophets and teachers becoming discredited through the unworthy, as the "Didache" shows; but if the prime duty of leaders of the church was now conceived to be to guard "the sound doctrine" (I Tim. 1: 10), that could be much more effectually done through permanent regular officials than through the uncontrollable and uncertain utterances of prophets. From that point of view, the prophets were a danger rather than a help.

All these developments which are obscurely indicated in the Pastorals are abundantly plain in the letters of Ignatius of Antioch written, between 110 and 117, to the churches of western Asia Minor and of Rome and to Polycarp. Ignatius was himself the monarchical bishop of Antioch, though he styled himself "the bishop from Syria" (Rom. 2)—a designation which may contain the germ of that sense of the importance of the bishops of the capital cities of the empire from which the metropolitan office was to develop. There were also monarchical bishops in the towns about Antioch

(Philadelphians, 10). In writing to Rome Ignatius mentions no bishop. A sufficient reason is to be seen in the fact that there was then no monarchical bishop in Rome. Each of the five churches of Asia Minor, however, to which he wrote had a monarchical bishop, presbyters and deacons. The threefold order was in full existence. He mentions the bishops of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles and Smyrna by name. There is no hint in Ignatius's letter that he regarded the monarchical episcopate as a new institution, though in two of these churches it did not command the undisputed authority that he wished for it (Trallians, 3; Philadelphians, 1, 7). When the institution originated in these churches there is at present no evidence; but in the case of the oldest church of this group in Asia Minor, that of Ephesus, it is plain that it must have come into being between the time, some half century or more before, when Paul had summoned the presbyter-bishops of Ephesus to Miletus (Acts 20: 17, 28) and that at which Ignatius wrote.

An orderly church, to Ignatius's thinking, is one "zealous to do all things in godly concord, the bishop presiding after the likeness of God and the presbyters after the likeness of the council of the apostles, with the deacons also" (Magnesians, 6; see also Trallians, 3). The deacons are subject to the bishop and presbyters (Magnesians, 2). The bishop was so distinctly the superior that even though young, as in Magnesia, the presbyters his elders "have not taken advantage of his outwardly youthful estate, but give place to him as to one prudent in God" (Magnesians, 3). Ignatius had no thought whatever of an apostolical succession in this episcopate. The conviction of the Roman Clement was outside his interest or knowledge. Ignatius entered into the duties of bishops with some fullness. They should control the services and the administration of the sacraments (Smyrneans, 8). They care for souls, they are protectors of widows and slaves, their consent to marriage should be sought, they call the church together to act (Polycarp 1-7).

Regarding the specific duties of presbyters and deacons little can be gathered from Ignatius.

Even more strongly than in the Pastorals, with Ignatius the peril of the time is heresy. That heresy is more definitely defined than in the Pastorals. It was chiefly docetic (Trallians, 9-11; Smyrneans, 1, 5). It led to separations from the congregation, neglect of care for the needy and rejection of the Lord's Supper (Ephesians, 5; Smyrneans, 6). That evil heresy Ignatius held with intensity of conviction can only be combated by unity, and that unity can be preserved only by closest harmony with the monarchical bishop. That is the burden of all his message.

Shun (Smyrneans, 8) divisions as the beginning of evils. Do you all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and the presbytery as the apostles; and to the deacons pay respect, as to God's commandment. Let no man do aught of things pertaining to the church apart from the bishop. Let that be held a valid eucharist which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus may be, there is the universal [catholic] church. It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or to hold a love-feast; but whatsoever he shall approve, this is well-pleasing also to God; that everything which ye do may be sure and valid.

So much more imposing a figure did the bishop of subsequent centuries become, that it is sometimes difficult to grasp the simplicity and naturalness of Ignatius's advice. His bishop is no diocesan ruler, but the head of a single congregation, or at most of the few scattered groups meeting for safety in private houses in a single city. He resembles the pastor of a modern congregation. And what better provision for avoiding divisions could Ignatius give than the exhortation: submit to your pastor, hold to him, let his leadership be supreme in all the worship and life of the congregation.

How this change came about by which the name bishop became the title of only one of the leaders of the congregation, that is, how the monarchical bishopric was established, the absence of evidence makes it impossible to say in detail. The suggestion of Hatch that the prominence of the monarchical bishop had its origin in superintendency of the financial administration and poor relief of the congregation ("The Organization of the early Christian Churches," 5th ed. London, 1895) is now generally regarded as a partial and one-sided interpretation. The bishop did, indeed, have the care of the needy as a duty. (Ignatius to Polycarp, 4). By the middle of the second century he received and administered the gifts by which he "takes care of all who are in need" (Justin Martyr, "Apology," 67). Doubtless some one had prime care of these funds from the time when they were first collected, that is from the founding of Christian congregations. But to seek the origin of monarchical episcopacy primarily in such financial administration is to overlook other and more important contributing causes.

A yet more significant root of the monarchical bishopric would appear to be leadership in public worship and especially in presidency at the Eucharist. Unfortunately the evidence here is scanty. We know much of the abuses of the Lord's Supper in the Corinthian church, but nothing of the method of its administration (I Cor. 11: 17-34). The "Didache" gives a liturgy for the use of the presbyter-bishops when no prophets are present (Ch. 9, 10). According to Clement the presbyter-bishops offer "the gifts of the bishop's office" (Ch. 44). It is evident that leadership in such service cannot long permanently be divided. The presbyter-bishops may have exercised some sort of rotation, but fitness would be sure to be manifested more in one than another, and leadership in these services would tend more and more to be regarded as belonging to one. In the time of Justin Martyr (153) the Lord's Supper was administered in Rome by "the president of the brethren" (Apology, 65).

That the "president of the brethren" was fully a monarchical bishop at Rome at this time is doubtful, or that he was always the same person is not made certain by the phrase; but the tendency to confine ordinary leadership to the most fit, and to regard the leader as the most eminent man in the church, must have been overwhelming. Leadership in worship would associate with itself leadership in all other interests of the church.

Furthermore when the presbyter-bishops existed there can never have been full actual equality. No committee can act without some sort of headship, however informal. Among the presbyter-bishops one or another would stand out as specially gifted, as the man of authority, and would tend to gather the reins of leadership into his hands, or have leadership forced upon him. Such a man may Clement of Rome well have been. His ability was such that he wrote the remonstrance with Corinth in the name of the Roman communion. As Harnack has well said, "it is impossible to say when the monarchical bishopric began" ("Entstehung und Entwickelung der Kirchen Verfassung," Leipzig, 1910, p. 72). Its completion was when the title bishop, with the powers involved, became the property of one only, and was no longer shared with several; but the actual leadership of which this was the completion must have been manifested among the presbyter-bishops in varying degrees of fullness long before. By the beginning of the second century the older Pauline order was largely gone. The apostles, now restricted, save in remote communions like those for which the "Didache" was written, to the eleven and Paul, were no more. The evangelists were also practically a memory. (III John may record one of the instances of waning evangelistic superintendence in contest with rising local authority; perhaps a dawning monarchical episcopate.) The prophets still continued, but were to be increasingly discredited till rejected by the great church in its struggle with Montanism, the teachers, though to last longer (Hermas,

Vis. 3: 5), were now becoming less significant and were to survive longest in remote rural districts as in Egypt (ante p. 18). The duties and powers and endowments of these earlier leaders were passing rapidly, in popular estimate, to the permanent local officers of the church, especially to the rising monarchical episcopate. The Christian message was conceived now, not as a divinely inspired utterance through charismatic men, but as a deposit of truth to be guarded and handed down. "The things which thou hast heard from me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also" (II Tim. 2: 2). This deposit was a "faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints" (Jude, 3).

All these tendencies were emphasized by the gigantic struggle with Gnosticism that threatened the very life of the church from about 145 for more than half a century. Many of the Gnostics were men of great abilities. Probably the historic "Catholic" church of the latter half of the second century contained no equals in mental power to set over against the chiefest of the Gnostics. That the historic church won in this struggle was due to its firmer organization and its emphasis on the continuity of its tradition. In this contest creed and canon were formed, but, above all, victory was achieved by the assertion that the Catholic church was the successor of original Christianity in doctrine, worship and organization. (A most interesting study of how the struggling church of the Gnostic crisis sought to emphasize successions is that of Cuthbert H. Turner, entitled "Apostolic Succession," in the volume edited by the late H. B. Swete, "Essays on the early History of the Church and the Ministry," London, 1918.) Under these influences the monarchical episcopate rapidly extended. It was eminently adapted to meet the rising heresy. By 155, Rome and Corinth had monarchical bishops; by the close of the century they had become the universal rule. The position of the bishop was immensely strengthened by the general

acceptance of the conviction, first clearly formulated by Clement of Rome, at a time when Rome had as yet no monarchical bishop (ante, p. 22), that the bishop's office was of apostolic foundation and had been maintained since the first appointments by the apostles in continuous succession.

Of this completed development Irenæus is the earliest witness. His great treatise, "Against Heresies," was written in opposition to Gnosticism about 185. His argument against Gnosticism runs as follows (3: 1-3):

The apostles had "perfect knowledge" of the Gospel, and that Gospel has been put in writing by the apostles or their immediate disciples.

Matthew also issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and laying the foundations of the church. After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did also hand down to us in writing what had been preached by Peter. Luke also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the Gospel preached by him [i.e. by Paul]. Afterwards, John, the disciple of the Lord, who also had leaned upon His breast, did himself publish a Gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia.

The teachings which are enshrined in these Gospels are those Irenæus declared, which every Christian must accept, and are the refutation of Gnosticism.

It is beside the present purpose to inquire into the historic accuracy of Irenæus's statements. His conviction is clear that the church possessed the absolute teaching of the apostles,—now wholly used in the sense of the original apostles and Paul,—in its four familiar Gospels.

Irenæus knew, however, that he had thus far met only one side of the Gnostic contention. The Gnostics alleged "that the truth was not delivered by means of written documents, but *viva voce:* wherefore also Paul declared, 'But we speak wisdom among those that are perfect, but not the

wisdom of this world' " (I Cor. 2: 6). That *viva voce* teaching the Gnostics claimed to represent. Irenæus had a more difficult task to answer here, but he accomplished it skillfully:

We are in a position to reckon up those who were by the apostles instituted bishops in the churches, and the succession of these men to our own times; those who neither taught nor knew of anything like what these [heretics] rave about. For if the apostles had known hidden mysteries, which they were in the habit of imparting to the "perfect" apart and privily from the rest, they would have delivered them especially to those to whom they were also committing the churches themselves. For they were desirous that these men should be very perfect and blameless in all things, whom also they were leaving behind as their successors, delivering up their own place of government to these men.

Irenæus then referred the inquirer to the "tradition derived from the apostles, of the very great, very ancient, and universally known church founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles Peter and Paul"; and then presented a list of Roman bishops extending from the apostles to his own day. (For the nature of this list see ante, p. 24.) This succession, Irenæus asserted, guaranteed the continuity of apostolic teaching; and "it is not necessary to seek the truth among others which it is easy to obtain from the church; since the apostles, like a rich man in a bank, lodged in her hands most copiously all things pertaining to the truth" (3: 4).

Under the circumstances of the time, with doctrine still in formulation and the canon still in process of formation, it is difficult to see what more effective answer Irenæus could have made to Gnostic claims. Yet what enormous assumptions were wrapped up in this answer. Does succession in office really guarantee unchanging teaching? And, if the development has at all been accurately traced, were the monarchical bishops of the churches of Irenæus's day really

instituted by the apostles, appointed as their successors and intrusted with the apostolic government? Irenæus's answer shows, however, that the second-century conception of the organization of the church had developed in the form which was to characterize the greater part of the church to the present day. Not that there was anything static here. The minor orders, the metropolitans and the popes were yet in the future; but the story has been followed far enough for the purposes of the present study.

Certain conclusions emerge from this examination of Christian institutional development which have their bearings on the problem of church unity. No period in this changing situation can be pointed out as a model of what Christian institutions should be. There was here no decline from a primal purity. There was a growth, an adaptation to environment and new conditions. The primitive charismatic democracy had to yield to the discrediting of prophecy, and the claims of order and effective organization. The unworkable nature of the collegiate presbyter-bishops, especially under the needs of the conduct of worship and in the face of rising heresy, had to give way to monarchical episcopacy. That in turn was compelled in the great Gnostic crisis of the second century to emphasize its guardianship of historic Christianity. Many of its emphases were undoubtedly without full historic justification; but it may well be doubted whether anything less rigid or less solidly built would have carried the church through its struggles with the heathen forces of the Empire without and its own divisions, heresies and ferment within.

If, moreover, there is in this development no place where one can say that Christian institutions had received a final form, may not the same be true of the whole history of the church? Is not its institutional life one of adaptation to environment—an environment that changes from age to age. Much that the past has brought forth is of exceeding worth. It is not lightly to be rejected. But the vital thing

in any epoch is that divine life which forever seeks expression through the church and should forever clothe itself in forms fitted to the needs of the particular present age in which the church militant bears its testimony and does its work.

II

VITAL PRINCIPLES OF CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

AT a meeting of a number of university men, who were discussing church unity, one of them said that the tenets held among the different churches are logically so incompatible that they never can be reconciled. An eminent biologist who was present took up the discussion and held that biologically these differences were capable of assimilation. Life is a good digester of incompatibles. From a biological point of view the problem of the organic unity of the churches is no more to be regarded as impossible than has been the organization of the higher forms of life through the processes of natural selection.

The naturalist is accustomed to inquire how all things from their beginnings have grown to be what they have become. He would regard as vain disputations ecclesiastical controversies or dogmatic conclusions which show the absence of any vital conception of religious development. Far too little use of the biologist's way of thinking has been made in religious literature; and especially the lack of this mental habit is to be deplored in controversial discussions of the polities and doctrines of the different churches. Too generally either no idea whatsoever of natural development has entered into the minds of the disputants, or, if some idea of the development of the Church and its institutions has been entertained, it has been a logical rather than a vital conception of the historical development of Christianity.

Some of the generation now passing received in their

earlier ministry fresh inspiration and guidance into pastures new from the writings of that early prophet of social salvation and larger Christian comprehension, Frederick Denison Maurice. Somewhere in his writings he used this significant phrase, "great reconciling principles." Biological analogies may reveal to us vital reconciling principles in the realm of spiritual life and growth.

One should beware indeed of transferring directly the laws of one order of being to another; as, for example, of identifying the laws of mechanics with the modes of reaction in the psychological order, and still more in the realm of spiritual activities. This was the mistake of the otherwise stimulating and clarifying book of Henry Drummond on "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." The analogy between the two, when carried to the point of their identification, results in subjection of the higher order to the lower, to the confusion of both. But an illuminating analogy may be discerned between certain formative principles in different spheres of creative action. Such principles, which may be recognized as characteristic modes of behavior in one period or domain of natural history, serve to bring out more clearly the higher laws or modes of procedure in the development of personal life and human society.

The end of the war opens before all the churches the possibility of one of the greater works of faith which the Lord promised His disciples they should do in His Name. Organized Christianity is to be reorganized. Modern historical studies have furnished much valuable material for Church reconstruction. Christianity may not survive on polemical divinity. The religious world waits for the reconciliation of all Christians. Our churches generally are ready to move forward and to move together for the common cause of Christianity.

It is the aim, accordingly, of this essay to inquire whether in the light of modern biological knowledge we may come to some better understanding of vital principles of the or-

ganic unity and development of the Church. For our plans of reunion, if they are to prove fruitful, must proceed from true principles of life and growth.

We must start, then, in such inquiry from the present accepted view of the method of natural evolution. The view formerly accepted is designated by the word preformation. The chick was supposed to exist in an invisible miniature in the egg. Evolution, as the word was then used, was supposed to be the unfolding of what was involved in the embryo. This was, broadly speaking, the theory which was prevalent among naturalists in the seventeenth and earlier part of the eighteenth centuries. In the year 1759 a young physician published as a thesis for a doctor's degree an attack upon the then current theory of preformation (Wolff, "Theoria Generationis"). He endeavored to show that the organism does not exist already formed in the egg, but that on the contrary all development proceeds through a process of new formation—the germ exists to be developed in its relation to its environment. But this conception, as so often happens with new ideas, was not favorably received by the orthodox science of his day, and for a long time was neglected. Since Darwin it has become in modified forms the accepted teaching of biological science. The word evolution is no longer used in its former and literal sense as simply the bringing out of what was previously formed in organic beginnings—the rudimentary structure corresponding, part by part, with what was completed in the adult form. Modern biology has to account for the life and growth of an organism in adaptation to its environment. The environment is a factor in the formation. Moreover, we know more concerning the beginnings of different organs of the body. Recent experiments, it is true, seem to show that in some species at least there are certain limited areas of the embryo from which definite structural developments may proceed. But, with some possible modifications, the evolution of organic forms and functions may be described by the

word predetermination rather than by the word preformation. How the primary differentiation of the germ-plasm is effected, or what determinants may be detected or supposed to exist in the cell,—all this constitutes the problem at the root of modern theories of heredity. Without going, however, into particulars, it is sufficient for our immediate analogical purpose to note that evolution (*epigenesis*) is to be conceived as a progressive development, in which organs are formed and additional functions are acquired in a process of continuous action and reaction between the organism and its environment, and in which new varieties may appear and specific forms become determined.

Keeping, then, in mind such general principles of organic evolution, we proceed to inquire whether certain analogous principles are to be discerned in the development of organized Christianity. What may be regarded as vitally essential principles in the continuity and growth of the Church of Christ in the world? We would seek for such principles in the formation and continuity of its order, its faith, and its worship. We would not miss any signs of their working in the varieties of Christian life and associations. We must recognize in these the possibility of degenerate forms, which lose survival virtue, and also of abnormal growths which may be capable of reabsorption in the further organic growth. But the vitalizing energies, the formative and adaptive principles of the living Church, are the main things to be known. Nor will inquiries concerning these be matter merely of ecclesiastical or doctrinal concern; primarily and now-a-days most urgently they are practical issues; for our plans for the reunion of the churches and our endeavors for the utmost efficiency of the Church will succeed or fail; they shall usher in another age in fulfilment of former ages of the Reformation, or they shall be brought to naught; as they find and follow, or shall miss and wander from the way of the Spirit, the method of the Life of the Christ in the life

of humanity. That is one of progressive teaching and practice.

The absence of any guiding idea of development is noticeable in much of the dogmatic divinity of former days, and too often also in existing ecclesiastical discussions. Church partisans have been accustomed to appeal to their received views of the origins of Christian institutions, to their traditions, to the early fathers or to the Reformers, to the decrees of the undivided Church or to later historical confessions; but with little or no regard for modern critical and scientific methods of historical research.

One may search in vain through the numerous controversial writings of the last three hundred years, until quite recently, for evidences of a truly genetic conception of the origins and development of the faith and order of the Church. Generally in the ecclesiastical discussions of former times proof-texts, taken from the Scriptures, were the weapons of their controversies, citations from the church fathers their supports; and political interests in the control of the Church by the State were the field of their hostilities.

I have gone from the biological laboratory of Yale University to a room in the library in which is preserved a large collection of the controversial literature of the Puritan times—books and pamphlets once burning with zeal but now gathered in peace together on its shelves. The change from the researches of the laboratory to that room in the library, in which the spirits of champions and martyred witnesses to their faith seemed still to be present, was like entering into another world. In it I could still feel the spirit of men breathing the air of a new day of freedom, who had waxed valiant in fight and followed without faltering the light that went before them, each on his own separate and narrow way. In the other I was peering into the mystery of the beginnings of things, searching the ways in which from infinitesimal origins the world has become what now it appears to be, wondering, as I left, what is the last secret,

the diviner meaning of it all. The language of those two rooms was not the same. The ways of thinking in them were not opposed, for they had never met. The whole atmosphere was changed—that past world of undoubting beliefs, this modern world of questioning knowledge. But we are coming to understand that there are not, after all, two worlds of science and divinity, for the two are hemispheres of the one full orb of truth.

In recent times some idea of development, more or less scientific, has been received in historical and religious thought. A notable contribution to it was made in Newman's famous essay on the "Development of the Christian Doctrine." It was begun while he was about to pass from his life at Oxford, and it was finished just after he had joined the Roman Catholic Church. One may well wonder whether Newman would ever have taken that step, if Oxford at that time could have given him a modern course of study in general biology. With more foresight than was usual then, he had discerned the signs of the coming conflict between modern science and a Church that deemed itself safely intrenched within its ancient dogmas. He had early cherished the desire to write a new apologetic for religion. More pertinently, perhaps, the question may be raised whether Newman would not have written his "Essay on Development" along quite different lines, and have led the Oxford movement beyond captivity to Rome out to a larger catholicity, if besides his familiarity with the church fathers, his earlier education could have imparted to him a good biological habit of mind in his religious thinking. More truly still, it may be said that, deeper and more potential even than his historical studies or logical habits, in the spiritual psychology of Newman's distinctive personality, were to be found the motives that predetermined his career; which first caused him to be hailed as the morning star of a new dawn for the Anglican Church; as later his lack of scientific appreciation of the method of creative evolution

may have contributed to his final resolution, which caused even the splendor of his spiritual genius to be submerged in his intellectual submission to Rome.

The work, which Newman relinquished, of writing a new apologetic of religion, can be accomplished only out in the open field of knowledge, where winds from all quarters blow, and in an atmosphere of intellectual freedom. Nevertheless, it was not the least of Newman's contributions to religious thought that he brought the whole case of Christian dogmas to the test of an idea of development. A criticism, therefore, from a more scientific point of view, may be very much to the purpose in helping present discussions go down to the vital principles of Church unity. For, as we may clearly discern them, we may wisely and hopefully trust the ultimate results of our working with and through them.

1. BIOLOGICAL CRITICISM OF NEWMAN'S DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE

THE title of his Essay is, "The Development of Christian Doctrine." It is to be noted that he did not propose to himself the wider inquiry concerning the development of Christian life and doctrine in the life of the world. He defines his thesis as follows:

> That the increase and expansion of the Christian Creed and Ritual, and the variations which have attended the process in the case of individual writers and Churches, are the necessary attendants on any philosophy or polity which has taken possession of the intellect and heart and has any wide or extended dominion: that, from the nature of the human mind, time is necessary for the full comprehension and perfection of great ideas; and that the highest and most wonderful truths, though communicated to the world once for all by inspired teachers, could not be comprehended all at once by the recipient, but, as being received and transmitted by minds not inspired and through media which were

human, have required only the longer time and deeper thought for their full elucidation. This may be called the "Theory of Development of Doctrine" (p. 29).

His only thought is of the "full comprehension and perfection of great ideas"; the development is not of the ideas, but in our comprehension and perfection of them. The growth is in their "elucidation." That is brought to light which lies hidden in them. Newman starts accordingly with the conception of preformed ideas involved in the original content of the Christian dogma. There is no further revelation of the mind of Christ in and through the mind of his Church, no *epigenesis* of Christian doctrine in the experience of his disciples, no increasing knowledge of God through historic processes of the divine education of his children. It puts a dogmatic limitation upon the teaching Spirit of Christ in history to conceive of it as showing solely the things of Christ in any past age. There are things of Christ coming, and already come, in our own time, to be shown by the Spirit that shall lead the disciples into all truth. Jesus' commission to his disciples was not merely that they should make a bank deposit of his teaching for future ages to draw the interest of it; He was to be with them always. At no definite point of time, in no determinate form of belief, may it be said that the teaching of the Spirit of the Christ came to a pause, or that in the creeds of the ancient Church man's pursuit of truth has overtaken divine revelation. When has the God of history ceased to call individual men to be prophets of his word, or upon the mountain tops to be messengers of the dawn of another of the days of the Son of man on the earth? Has the common life of His people never been stirred to the depths by the Spirit that bloweth where it listeth? Is not nature itself disclosing now long hidden secrets of His wisdom and power? Or is the old faith ever conserved except in its becoming the new faith?

Newman proceeds to give seven notes by which a true development may be distinguished from corruptions. A

cursory review of these notes may be a useful preliminary to the present inquiry concerning the really vital principles of Church development.

The first note is Preservation of the Type. This is a true biological principle; nature remains true to the type. The determinants in each specific form also remain constant. But Newman's applications of this note to the historic development of the Church betray no conception of what the biologists call *phylogenesis,* the larger evolution of successive types and species through the capacity of life for variation and by means of many factors, known and as yet unknown, as a result of which the rich manifoldness of existing forms of life has been attained in the unity of the organic world. Hence Newman's first note in its application to Christian doctrine is true as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. It ignores the whole field of comparative religion. How Christianity grew up among the religions of the world, and in its historical environment from age to age has become what it is in its present varieties of religious experience and faith,—all this broader survey and comparative evaluation of different forms of existing Christian life and teaching does not enter into his discussion of the development of doctrine. His illustrations under this note are taken from differences in individual cases and trace the genealogy of a particular line of descent. By this note the discussion enters indeed a right way, but no sooner is it entered than its direction is lost. It is noticeable that like so many others in current religious discussions, Newman takes examples from the growth of animal or vegetable nature only "as illustrations of the general subject" (p. 41); but illustrations are not analogies; or, as the biologists would say, homologies are not analogies. God's ways of self-realization or manifestation through the natural and the spiritual realms are not merely illustrative, they are parallel and harmonious ways of the one divine order of the whole creation. We need to go deeper than the illustration on the

surface of things to find the fundamental principles, the great laws of being and life, upon which, as on the everlasting rock, we may build our immortal loves and hopes.

The second note is Continuity of Principles. Newman reaches broader ground in this part of his essay. The continuity of natural evolution is an accepted postulate of modern science. Some of Newman's words concerning the relations of principles and dogmas may be analogous to the relations which biologists might draw between the laws and the forms of natural evolution. But here again he follows his misleading idea of the development of Christian faiths from some preformed deposit of original dogma; for he draws his illustrations of this note from the relations of Euclid's definitions to the axioms and postulates of mathematics (p. 179).*

The third note is the Power of Assimilation. We need to call attention to this note only because in Newman's use of it he had an advantage at least over those leaders of the Oxford movement whom he left behind him when he went over to Rome. For one reason of the continued survival of the Roman Catholic Church, while empires have fallen and knowledge has increased, has been just this power of receiving and assimilating elements of vitality from its changing environment—the paradox of its power of changing that it may continue unchanged. Because it possesses a living authority, which it deems infallible, the Roman Church exercises a power of binding or loosing, of granting dispensations from its own restrictions, and rendering new definitions of its own doctrines. So Newman has said: "The Church of Rome can consult expediency more freely than other bodies, as trusting to her living tradition, and is sometimes thought

* See later statement of Newman's position in reply to Peronne and virtual agreement with him that "the whole depositum," as, for instance, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, might be regarded as making explicit what is implicit in the creed. (Life of Newman, by Wilfred Ward, Vol. 1, 184 sq.)

to disregard principle and scruple when she is but dispensing with forms." But the extreme adherents of the Oxford movement have not this freedom of a living authority; they are bound within the limits of their own claim of being Catholic; the fathers are always with them, and their final appeal is to the decrees of the ancient Councils. Newman submitted to a living Infallibility; the Tractarians remained under the rule of the dead man's hand.

For our present purpose it is not necessary to follow Newman through his remaining notes and their application to the history of the Catholic Church. His Essay rendered this service, that it brought the idea of development of some kind to the forefront in the discussion of ecclesiastical issues. The conclusion also to which he came as he passed over to Rome, may lead one to beware of any idea of the development of the Church which does not stand the test of biological analogies. We may be forewarned, for example, against theories of the continuity of the Church, such as led Newman, with perhaps logical consistency but vital misunderstanding, to jump to the conclusion that "a developing authority is to be expected. . . . a provision in the Dispensation of putting a seal of authority on the Development." On the contrary the "developing authority," the principle of development, is from within, not from without; and the seal of it is the vital certainty that it survives and continues to grow.

Newman himself had a deeper insight, he struck a truer note, when late in life, in 1872, he wrote to the principal of Aberdeen University: "What a mystery it is in this day that there should be so much which draws religious minds together, and so much that separates them from each other. . . . and when shall the better day come? . . . It seems to me the first step to any chance of unity amid our divisions is for religious minds, one and all, to live upon the Gospels" (Ward, op. cit., v., ii., p. 393).

2. ANALOGIES OF CHURCH DEVELOPMENT FROM BIOLOGY

PASSING from these more general statements concerning vital principles of development, we may turn to some special biological analogies which may throw light upon the problems of organic Church unity which are now pressing themselves upon all our churches.

Without entering into technical details or minor distinctions which biologists might make, the following tendencies may be said to be recognizable in the evolution of organic forms and functions; and similar principles are to be recognized in the development of the Church.

1. There is a certain conservative tendency, or principle of conservation, in the organism as a whole.

This seems to be inherent in the germ-plasm of the organic unit. It is observable not only in its reactions against incompatible elements or hurtful influences from without, but also in its development as a check or balance, whenever variation, if carried too far in some direction, might threaten the existence of the species. It is sometimes spoken of as variation around a mean.

This principle of self-conservation as an organic whole was a vital principle in the growth of the early Church. It began to be as one body. It was not an association bound together by an external interest, or merely for co-operative work, it was a fellowship in one and the same Life.

The Christian Church was wholly there, and Jesus Himself was present in it, when He gave to the company of His disciples the Last Supper. The Church as one whole was in that upper room—the membership, its offices, its powers, its great commission, all its organic powers in the society of those disciples with Jesus. The chosen body of His disciples were themselves both members and Apostles of His Church. As such He gave to them authority. No one of that first communion of disciples was to be greatest among

them. To the Church thus constituted and to those who were gathered with the disciples, the Lord appeared and gave visible signs and assurance of His presence always with them. In that first communion of Christ, the organs and manifold gifts and functions of the Church that was to take form and grow, were undeveloped, not definitely separated, but potentially existing. Not many days after, we read, they went up into the upper chamber, where they were abiding, and these all with one accord continued stedfastly in prayer, with the women and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with His brethren. Soon those fellow-servants of whom the Church was first constituted without distinction of presbyters, bishops, or deacons, but with all power and authority, were called to go their separate ways, never probably to meet all together in the same room again. In many different places each disciple was to gather around him believers, and each communion so formed presented in that particular place the whole Apostolic Church. From so simple potentiality the age-long development of the Church of Christ began.

Each primitive church had to be locally adapted to its immediate surroundings in order that it might survive and grow. But the churches in every place had a common tradition and a common consciousness of belonging to the same Christian society, while in distant places and at different times they had various usages. They were vitalized by the same Spirit, but possessed divers gifts and spake in many tongues. The conserving influence, as they began to multiply among all the saints of the dispersion was the common consciousness of the one people of God. Every communion of Christians was one of the fellowship of all Christians. Such at least in the simplicity of its earliest growth was the Apostolic Church. "All things are yours," so the great Apostle of reconciliation could preach to those first Christian communities. So might the Apostolic recognition of unity amid diversity be given to the churches in

every place today, if St. Paul were travelling, not from Jerusalem to Macedonia or to Rome only, but among our churches of every name the whole world round. For what has been lost among us is not the indwelling life, which is the perpetual presence of the Christ with His disciples, but our common and compelling consciousness of it, and hence our failures to make it visible to the world. The real denial of catholicity is for any part of the church to claim itself to be the whole Church. What is not conservative, but destructive of unity is for any existing church to assert its order or rule to be the only form and authority for the manifold diversities of faith and order which the centuries have developed. Nor is catholicity to be sought and found in a vain endeavor to put existing non-conformity back into some previously existing uniformity. If we could imagine the churches in all their manifoldness to be put back as one body into the undivided Church of the first five centuries, that would not make one Catholic Church; for it would leave outside the manifold and rich fruits of the life of the Church in all the seasons since. To compel us to return into the earlier forms would be schismatic toward the later manifoldness.

Moreover, it should be observed in passing that it is not strictly true to speak of churches that may have sprung up spontaneously from the common ground as though they were merely voluntary associations. Birds of the air may have scattered seeds of the truth, which the providence of God may have watered, and by their fruits they are to be judged. They have grown on the common inheritance; they are constituted of the same elementary units; they bear the marks of their Christian descent, and in their membership are believers baptized with the same baptism of all the children of the universal Church. In their will to be, there may be something of the will of God that needs to be done. Moreover, if they give increasing evidence of their survival-value, there must be in them some virtue fit to live, to be

taken up into and conserved in the growth and fruitions of the whole Church.

At this point, however, the question may be well urged whether there is no principle in accordance with which hurtful outgrowths may be cut off, or superfluous multiplications plucked up? Rome claims a self-perpetuating authority to do this; has Protestantism no vital principles of self-judgment? We turn for an answer to further biological analogies.

2. The second vital principle to be noticed in this connection is the restorative tendency of organic life.

This capacity of self-repairing, and restoration of lost parts, seems to be a general property of the lower organisms. It diminishes as the organization becomes more highly differentiated, but within limits it may be said to be one of the general properties of organized matter. Life is naturally selective of its own forms best fitted to survive. Abnormal forms are not usually self-perpetuating. Superfluous appendices in time become aborted. There seems to be a natural tendency to restore the vital proportions between the several parts and functions which are to be kept balanced and co-operative for the welfare of the whole organism. This method of divine grace in the spiritual realm is no less effective than the law of selection in nature. We may trust providence through human history to work as a balancing and normative energy, keeping the proportions of faith. We may greatly err if we undertake too hastily or violently to do this work in the Church ourselves. Nature might teach us a lesson of tolerance for a while even with freaks. Christian associations have sometimes sprung up overnight as the following of some eccentric preacher, flourished for their brief day, and been forgotten, whatever measure of truth there may have been in their strange doctrine being reabsorbed in the growth of the Church. Heresies have often been taken up after a while into the larger and richer orthodoxy. How often it would have been better to trust the healing virtue of the Spirit than the drastic remedies of

the ecclesiastics. A wise conservatism may find it safe to trust what one of old called the Holy Spirit of Education.

3. Besides this, there is observable in the organic world a certain substitutional capacity.

When one organ or part has been injured or lost, its work may be taken up by some other part of the organism. Or a new part may be grown in its place. There are instances in which from a different area of an embryo a new growth has been formed to take the place of one that had been destroyed.*

Now this same natural principle of substitutional functioning is inherent in the plastic nature, so to speak, of the living Church. It has special significance in relation to the offices and orders of the Church. Such orders, whether they be few or many in their later differentiations, have their origin in the original undivided and essential nature of the Christian society itself. Hence they have correlative, and if need be, substitutional power of functioning for the well-being of the Church as one organic whole. To regard them as not so constituted would be to make God the author of confusion, abandoning in the spiritual order the method which has been pursued in the order of nature, and its perfecting. The history of the Christian Church shows that the Spirit of the Lord does not work in the realm of grace at cross-purposes with the Spirit of God in the natural creation. But it would be too great a digression for us to follow out the evidences of this statement. It may be observed in passing that in the earlier Apostolic Church the divers gifts of the Spirit were not at once clearly differentiated. In the sub-apostolic days the functions and orders of the ministry are not so distinctly marked that historians may not differ widely in their definition. Only gradually did the

* A striking example is the growth from an adjacent epithelial cell of a new lens in place of one that had been destroyed in the eye of the larva of a *Titon*. Many interesting experiments of this kind have been made by biologists.

offices and duties of presbyters and bishops become delimitated and canonically determined. To some extent they have remained interchangeable, as, for example, it was held by many divines of the English Church after the Reformation that where bishops could not be had, orders conferred by presbyters might be deemed to be valid.

It may be said that this gradual delimitation of orders and offices, marking a more complex organization of the Church, is a gain compensating the loss of simpler primitive Christianity. However that may be, the original virtue of developing and adapting its own orders remains, as it was at first, in the Christian society itself. It resides in what might be called the elementary plasm, the essential matter and the formative energy of the Christian society. From this primal and indestructible essence and virtue of the body of the Church the injury or loss of one order may be supplied by the substitutional service of another; and still more than this, should persecution or sudden destruction overtake it, stripping it bare of all its official orders, and leaving nothing but the undifferentiated company of believers, from the Christian body itself there might be developed anew whatever orders or ministries might be necessary that it may survive and fulfil its calling in the world.

4. Resembling the character just noticed, but distinguishable from it, is what has been called anticipatory substitution.

There are observed instances where a temporary use is made of one organ until another, better fitted for the service needed, shall have been formed. Concerning this anticipatory provision, Professor J. A. Thompson remarks: "Of course, we require to know more about the way in which the old-fashioned structure prepares the way for and stimulates the growth of the future substitute, but the general idea of one organ leading on to another is suggestive" ("Science of Life," p. 137). This natural character of organic

evolution has special pertinency in the discussion of the offices and orders of the Church.

A gift or office may be utilized beyond its original intent, and thereby become the means of transition to a more specific authority. Pastors have become missionary superintendents, presbyters have been made bishops, and the bishop of a single communion has had in time a diocese added unto him. All this, both in the early church and later, is quite natural. It is going on in some denominations before our eyes. In gifts of ministries which have proved their value, and in orders which perhaps have been too exclusively held by others, anticipations may possibly be found of powers and administrations that may be effectively combined and adapted in a corporate working-plan of the churches. But such corporate federation might prove impossible if any church should hold its own ecclesiastical polity as though it were a bequest to be administered under unalterable terms, which no living authority may change; if the Church of the living God has been bound forever to the dead past's hand, and is no longer as it was in the beginning when the Spirit of Life was first breathed into it, and the words of its Lord were the charter of its liberty.

The Lambeth article seems to anticipate some such freer use of the historic episcopate as "locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and the peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church."

5. A fifth note of creative evolution is that change of direction is the advancement of life.

When one form of organization has been carried as far as it can go, nature, seizing on some possible variation, enters on a better way of life. Nature has often changed her models; one type has followed another, as when brute force would dominate the earth, nature invented the first flying machines, and gave to the singing birds the freedom of the sky. If we were to attribute intelligence to nature,

this irrepressible impulse to find new ways for life when old ways were ended, might be called the optimism of nature.*

A similar capacity—a spiritually inventive character—should not fail in the Church. A new age demands new ways. The word reconstruction is hardly adequate to answer the call now of the world upon the Church. New types fitted to the demands of Christianity for all peoples are to be developed. First, perhaps, on what we used to call foreign missionary fields other types of organized Christianity may spring up. Shall our home churches be ready to recognize their validity? Shall the Protestant churches have attained sufficient inter-communion among themselves to fit them for Christian inter-communion on foreign fields?

3. VITAL VALUES OF VARIOUS SYMBOLS OF FAITH AND WORSHIP

WE come back now to the remark of the biologist with which this essay began, that doctrines logically incompatible may be reconciled in life. Various creeds served on the theologian's table may be assimilated in the growth of a healthy Christian character. Indeed, a vigorous Christian man may convert into his living and working faith, without conscious inward disturbance, doctrines that might prove incompatible in any system of theology. But the vital values of his beliefs according to his daily needs are the things that really matter to him.

One may well put for himself the creeds of Christendom to this unusual but profitable test; let him take up, for example, Schaff's volumes which contain the "Creeds of Christendom," and turning the pages, glance through them one

*For a detailed explanation of biological principles mentioned above, and instances illustrating them, the reader may be referred to my book on "Through Science to Faith," ch. x.

after another with an eye single to this only: How much may I find in each with which I can agree? How much running through them all is there to which my religious experience responds? Martin Luther once said, "Sometimes I believe, sometimes I do not believe." How much in these creeds do I find in which at different times I may feel that I can believe? Forgetting who made them, or from what age they may have come, how much in this harvest from all fields may I find to be good for me?

One reading thus the creeds of the ages past may be able to say as he closes the books: This is the line of my spiritual descent, these are my heritage of faith. There they are, all bound together in these volumes; in their agreements and their contradictions, by their partial truths and their passing errors witnessing to man's increasing yet ever unfinished knowledge of God's truth which passeth knowledge. One may subscribe to them, as he would to the Bible, as a whole; not that every book in it is inerrant, or without mistake in every verse, but as the revelation of God through the history of the chosen people, and its fulfilment in the Word made flesh and of all that Jesus began both to do and to teach.

The creeds of the first five centuries do not compass the extent of the faith of the Church. The Catholic faith is the faith of all the ages until now. It is born, and born anew from the continuous religious life of the people of God. The experienced truth of the whole Church from the beginning is the Catholic faith.

Keeping such conception of the catholicity of faith in mind, we may more assuredly find a way through the creedal perplexities which beset us from all sides in our approach towards Church unity. For the Catholic Church must needs comprehend the teachings of the Spirit of Truth within the whole household of faith even to this present time. For when has the Spirit of Truth said to the fathers or to us of His work of teaching divinity,—it is finished? The

unity of the Catholic faith is not therefore to be sought for either, on the one hand, by reducing the creeds of Christendom to a minimum, or, on the other hand, by making any single confession, ancient or modern, the rule of faith for all believers, or any one church the only true church. Chillingworth, the author of the "Religion of Protestants," was of a better mind, when he subscribed to the articles of the Church as articles of unity, and because he believed the truth in them was more than their errors. Creeds are symbols of the faith, not iron boxes in which to keep a "deposit" of the faith. They serve as guideposts along the way rather than as gates closing in our particular possession. The successive confessions of the churches are not merely scriptures of private denominational interpretation, but witnesses from different ages and in many tongues of the riches of the glory of Christ's inheritance in the saints.*

It remains for us to apply this test of vital values to the problems of unity arising from differences concerning the worship and sacraments of the Church.

While the Lord's Supper is the very center and hearth of the whole household of faith, around it have gathered the most irreconcilable differences of the churches. Reunion, therefore, must go to the very core of the disunion. So long as non-communion between churches is visible, real unity is invisible. And belief in the oneness of the invisible Church does not atone for the sinful estate of visible disunity. Agreements to work together outside the churches leave the Christ to be found walking the streets among men, but not seen in the midst of His own disciples. External federation in working together, however desirable, may hide but does not atone for not living together in the one family and Church of God. The visibility of the home life, not of co-

* Contrast in this respect Harnack's distillation of Christianity in his volume, "What is Christianity?" with Loisy's comprehension of its historical contents in his reply to Harnack, "The Gospel and the Church."

workers only, in the same field,—that is the real unity of the Church. These still existing refusals of Christians to worship and commune together might prove a fatal peril to all organized Christianity, if they should be tolerated as necessary, and endeavors to remove denominational fences or high, churchly walls of separation be regarded as impracticable. But, if now, after this war, we have not faith strong enough to break through them, our epochal opportunity will be lost, and the sinful separations become wider and worse than before.

In this connection attention may be called to a fact which Loisy has pointed out in the suggestive chapter on the Catholic worship in his book, "The Gospel and the Church." He notes that "in matters of worship the religious feeling of the masses has always preceded the doctrinal definitions of the Church as to the object of worship. The fact is full of significance; it attests the law which demands a form of worship suitable to all the conditions of existence and to the character of the people that believes" (p. 238). "Christianity had to find a ritual, or cease to exist. For this reason, it was from the first the most living worship that can be imagined. Attempt merely to conceive those baptisms, with the laying on of hands, and sensible manifestations of the Divine Spirit; that breaking of bread, and the meal where the very presence of the Master who had just left the earth was felt; the songs, celebrating acts of grace, that burst forth from the heart, the overflowing enthusiasm. . . . Everything is living. . . . There is no speculation about the token, no hint of physical efficacy of the sacrament in baptism, nor of transubstantiation in the Eucharist; but what is said and believed goes almost beyond these theological assertions" (p. 232 sq.). He traces the process in which the sacramental system was naturally developed. "The entire Christian worship developed around the supper of the Eucharist. . . . Without any previously constructed scheme, an institution was realized which surrounded human exist-

ence with a divine atmosphere and is, without doubt, by the intimate harmony of all its parts and the intensity of its influence the most remarkable creation that has ever proceeded from a living religion" (p. 349). "Regarded historically, the development shows a persevering effort on the part of Christianity to penetrate with the spirit the whole existence of man" (p. 250). This view of the natural development of the sacramental system, which is indicated in these quotations, may have suggestive value as we would find an open way of return to the inter-communion of all believers. For the religious feelings of the people of God are not to be corralled and confined within any one confessional fold. All psychological diversities should have recognition in the presence of the Christ for all. At the Lord's Supper, if anywhere in the world, the saying of Pascal should be held true, "In Christ all contradictions are reconciled."

Three typical examples of these varieties of Christian experience must suffice for illustration:

The first is the commonly received view and corresponding feeling in the observance of the Lord's Supper in the non-liturgical churches. It is regarded as a means of grace, and at the Lord's table communicants find their most hallowed memories quickened, their sense of oneness still with those who have been taken from their homes made more real, and their faith strengthened, as they feel more deeply the death of Christ for them, and His Life dwelling within them. It is more to them than a mere memorial service such as might be held elsewhere; the bread and the wine are symbols of a present and abiding reality. So to humblest cottagers in some wayside chapel the Lord's Supper has meant more in their religious feeling of comfort and assurance of faith than could have been expressed in words or confessed in written creed.

An example of the type at the other end of the range of

sacramental experience is furnished in the life of Newman, whose views of the development of Catholic doctrine we have been reviewing. This passage is taken from a letter which he wrote to an intimate friend shortly after he had received his first communion in the Catholic Church.

I am writing next room to the Chapel. It is such an incomprehensible blessing to have Christ's bodily presence in one's house, within one's walls, as swallows up all other privileges and destroys, or should destroy, every pain. To know that He is close by,—to be able again and again through the day to go in to Him; and, be sure my dearest W., when I am thus in His Presence you are not forgotten. It is *the* place for intercession surely, where the Blessed Sacrament is. Thus Abraham, our father, pleaded before his hidden Lord and God in the valley. (Life of Newman, J. Wilfred Ward, v. 1, p. 118.)

To many Protestants these words might seem unreal, as the doctrinal term, transubstantiation, to which Newman assented, would be unintelligible. Many will look upon all such uses of symbols as superstitions. It would be easier for an outstanding Puritan to denounce them than it would be for him to take pains to understand what they may have meant to others who have Christ present to them in the Sacrament. Hence have come divisions among us,—misunderstandings between opposite personal psychologies, and withal mutual intolerance and the casting out of charity that thinketh no evil.

But to Newman these were natural expressions of a real religious experience. A mind so sensitive as his to the difficulties of faith, and so persistently logical, could hardly have rested in words that had to him no rational content. Fortunately Newman has recalled some of his earlier mental tendencies, running back to his boyhood, which may enable us to enter into his later experience in his transition from Oxford to Rome, and to conceive at least how in that

Chapel next to his study he could find the presence of Christ so indescribably real as he wrote that it was.

At Oxford, in his youth, he read Butler's Analogy, the study of which he says was to him, as it has been to so many others, an era in the history of his religious opinions. What is unique, however, as a result of his study of it, he tells us in these words:

> If I may attempt to determine what I most gained from it, lay in two points. . . . they are the underlying principles of a great portion of my teaching. First, the very idea of an analogy between the separate works of God leads to the conclusion that the system which is of less importance is economically or sacramentally connected with the more momentous system, and of this conclusion the theory, to which I was inclined as a boy, viz., the unreality of material phenomena, is an ultimate resolution. Secondly, Butler's doctrine that Probability is the guide of life, led me, at least under the teacher to which a few years later I was introduced, to the question of the logical cogency of faith, etc. ("Apologia pro sua Vita," p. 10.)

Here we have disclosed the two psychological determinants—the sense of the unreality of the material, and the mental demand for logical cogency—existing and running along together through his life, and rendering his experience in the Chapel and the study next to it, as he passed from one to the other, an experience of religious life at once real and indescribable.

To put the symbol in the place of the reality may be superstitious or idolatrous. There is this peril whether one identifies a formula of words with the truth, or offers adoration before a picture over an altar, or makes outward nature itself the object of worship. But symbolism is the gift of God to the imagination. Through the symbol one may draw near the Reality. One may appreciate more truly how Newman with his rare penetrative and realistic power of the spiritual imagination could discern in and through the sacra-

ment the personal presence of the Lord, if ever one has felt as Newman felt in sacred places, or realized as he could, the nearness of someone dearly loved, but now seen no more; as these passages from Newman's letters show. He writes thus of entering a beautiful church in Milan:

"And it is so calm . . . that it is always a rest to the mind to enter it. Nothing moves there but the distant glittering lamp which betokens the Presence of Our Undying Life, hidden but ever working, though entered into His rest." . . .

It is really most wonderful to see the Divine Presence looking out almost into the open streets from the various Churches, so that at St. Lawrence's we saw the people take off their hats from the other side of the street as they passed along. (Ward, op. cit., v. 1, p. 139.)

This extract from a letter written after the death of his sister Mary, whom he had dearly loved, may come closer home to the inner life of many:

I never felt so intensely the transitory nature of this world as when most delighted with these country scenes. . . . Dear Mary seems embodied in every tree and hid behind every hill. What a veil and curtain this world of sense is! beautiful but still a veil. (Op. cit., p. 41.)

A third illustration comes nearer a common feeling and understanding of believers. It is taken, however, not from a Protestant but from a Roman Catholic source. A group of Catholic priests in an appeal made to Pope Pius X, entitled, "What We Want,"—one of the earliest utterances of the so-called Modernists,—expressed what the sacrament of the Eucharist meant to them, in these words:

So again, to explain the Eucharist mystery, we cannot for ourselves adopt the theory of Transubstantiation, unless no one is to understand. But we shall say that the faithful after the word of consecration, while with the senses of their

bodily life they will see only bread and wine, will yet with the soul, by means of a super-phenomenal experience of faith, in short, be in contact with the real and living Christ, who, before He died, gathered his disciples to a fraternal feast to communicate to them for the last time, the bread of Eternal Life—will be in contact with the Christ suspended upon the Cross, the Victim of justice and peace. ("An Open Letter to Pius X," from a "Group of Priests," 1917.)

The mediæval scholastics, applying Aristotle to the teachings of Christ, elaborated the distinctions between matter and form, accidents and substance, and crystallized their reasonings in the word transubstantiation. But flowing deeper and broadly through all this long history of theological Christianity was the Life of the Christ in the lives of martyrs and saints and through the unceasing succession of believers; and the movement and power of the world's experience of Christ cannot be measured or stayed within the limits of all the creeds, either of Roman Catholic or Protestant. The Christian consciousness of God in Christ transcends its expressions. No symbolism may be either too rude or too rich for worshipful use; all created things are signs and means for spiritual expression,—whether they be things for the eye to see, or harmonious sounds for the ear to hear, all are ours for spiritual uses. It would be for the Church to despise the good gifts of God in nature to the Spirit that is in man, should it refuse Him that speaketh in divers ways through the symbolism of the world of sense and sound. The one Church of the God of the living must be both high and low and broad enough to comprehend all worshipful psychologies. So Jesus Himself did as He went about among men.

As we come out to the conclusion of this way of analogies between the natural and the spiritual there rises before us a clear and majestic vision of the Church of God. Behold the consummate creation of the Spirit in human history! From the elemental foundations of nature it has been upbuilt. Its

materials have been drawn from all peoples and times. Its structural unity is the law of one and the selfsame Spirit. Its Maker and Builder is God. The generations of men, passing by, look up and confess, "We believe in the one Holy Catholic Church."

The testimony of Jesus, said the angel of the Apocalypse, is the Spirit of prophecy. The testimony of Jesus as witnessed in His life with His disciples, and through the experience of the Christ which has continued through the ages past even until now, is the Spirit of prophecy. From that unbroken line we look forward until He comes.

The historian had true insight into the prophetic testimony of Jesus through the past, who, as he gathered up his materials for his history of the Church, wrote these words: "Only that which has at some time truly lived and thereby become immortal by representing a ray of the Christian's spirit, forms part of history, which is a history not of the dead, but of the living." The history of that which has been lived in Christ is the prophecy of the living Church that is to be. Whatever else we may hold in our separations to be essential for us to keep, may perish, the testimony of Jesus in the religious life of His disciples shall live on and on in the one Church of the past, the present and the hereafter. Whatsoever is not of the testimony of Jesus shall fail. Only His life in the churches is prophetic.

As the ways of the Lord alike through nature, through history, and as He goes before His Church, are one way, so likewise there is one law in all and over all—even the Law of Love.

So Savonarola gave this testimony of Jesus, and had the prophetic vision of the city and church of God which was to come, when after his excommunication by Rome and while awaiting the ascent of his spirit through the flames of his martyrdom, he wrote this: "All theology, all canonical and civil laws, all ecclesiastical ceremonies are ordained with

a view to charity by God." And he pronounced a new anathema: "Therefore on him that giveth commands opposed to charity, which is the plenitude of our law, let him be anathema! The new commandment is love; and the Church of God has only this one anathema: it is enough.

III

CONCERNING SCHISM

THERE has been a general agreement among divines as to the sin of schism, but much diversity of opinion as to who are the schismatics.

The canons of the Church of England of the year 1603 censured as authors of schism: "Whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the communion of saints, as it is approved by the Apostles' rules, in the Church of England, and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood, accounting the Christians who are comformable to the doctrines, government, rites, and ceremonies of the Church of England to be profane and unmeet for them to join with in Christian communion, let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*," etc.

The English reformers were compelled to regard schism as an unnecessary separation from the Church, or otherwise to admit that they themselves were in a state of schism from Rome. This note of the necessity of separation runs uniformly through their designation of schismatic separation. Thus Bishop Bramhall, for example, denying that the Church of England is in a state of schism, said:

"We do not separate ourselves from other churches (unless they chase us away with their censures), but only from their errors." He writes of the English reformers' separation from the Roman Catholic Church that "they left it with the same mind that one would leave his father's or his brother's house, when it is infected with the plague, with prayers for their recovery, and with desire to return again,

so soon as that may be done with safety." (Protestants' Ordination Defended, Works, vol. v., p. 205.)

Irenæus's view of schism as a want of charity:

Irenæus described "them that make schisms, who are empty of the love of God, and look to their own benefit rather than to the union of the Church, who for any and every reason will maim and mutilate and as far as in them lies destroy the great and glorious Body of Christ; speaking peace and working war; truly straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel; seeing that no reformation they can effect can be so great as is the harm of schism. . . . But more precious than knowledge, more glorious than prophecy, excellent above all other *charismata,* is the especial gift of charity." (*Adv. Haer.,* iv., xxx., i.-xxiii., 8, as given by Turner, "Early History of the Church," p. 126.)

St. Augustine's admonition:

And we act rightly who do not dare to repudiate God's sacraments even when administered by heretics. For in all points in which they think with us they are in communion with us, and are only severed from us in those points in which they dissent from us. . . . But whenever he (a separatist) desires to conduct himself as is customary in the state of unity in which he himself received the lessons which he seeks to follow, in these points he remains a member, and is united to the corporate whole.

Numerous definitions of schism might be cited from the writings of successive English prelates and divines, all very much of the same tenor, this later one from the recent Bishop of Oxford indicates sufficiently their general agreement:

Schism is "a wilful self-withdrawal from the legitimate succession of the Catholic Church . . . the wilful causing of a breach inside the Church." (I give this as quoted by Wilson, op. cit., p. 200, from Dr. Gore's "Roman Catholic Claims," p. 126.)

The following from Jeremy Taylor's "Liberty of Prophesying" may illustrate the tone of the more moderate Churchmanship:

As to particular churches they are bound to allow communion to all those that profess the same faith upon which the Apostles did give communion. To make the way to heaven straiter than God did make it, or to deny to communicate with those whom God will vouchsafe to be united, and to refuse our charity to those who have the same faith, because they have not all our opinions, and believe not everything necessary which we overvalue, is impious and schismatical; it infers tyranny on our part, and persuades and tempts to uncharitableness and animosities on both.

The early Puritans and Nonconformists on their part stoutly maintained that they were not schismatics. Numerous controversial pamphlets from all sides swarmed around this question of schism. The convictions, as well as the intense feeling prevailing among the dissidents, are shown in many of these pamphlets, as, for example, this quotation from one of them, entitled, "Separation, yet no Schism, or Nonconformists no Schismatics," a sermon before the Lord Mayor of London, 1675:

Peradventure you say we have broke off the Unity of the National Church, which we ought to have preserved, I answer we have but broke it by accident. . . . And be ye but willing to receive them as ministers and members which Christ receives and owns, and I dare say we shall have a blessed peace.

Thus the Anglican divines, on the one hand, defended themselves from the charge of schism by the Romanists, and, on the other hand, they made the same charge against the Nonconformists that they were schismatics. Each measured out to the others the same measure which was meted to them. What then shall be said? Were they all in a state of schism, which in itself is a state of sin? The inquiry is

one that searches to the heart of it all Churchism, and every denominationalism.

Amid the bitter strife and confusion of tongues of Laud's domination of the Church, there was privately circulated a short essay on "Schism and Schismatics," by the "Ever Memorable Mr. John Hales of Eton College." Many sentences from this essay are well worth quoting, such as these, for example: "It is not the variety of opinions, but our perverse wills, who think it meet that all should be conceited as ourselves are, which hath so inconvenienced the church. Were we not so ready to anathematize each other, we might in heart be united, though in our tongues we were divided, and that with singular profit to both sides." The responsibility for schisms in many cases he placed on both sides, as he pithily said of the first great schism between the Eastern and the Western Church, "I cannot but see that all the world were schismatics." He defined schism as "an unnecessary separation of Christians from that part of the visible church of which they were once members." There may still be some need, though it is happily a vanishing one, of recalling this bit of his keen satire concerning heresy-hunting:

> Heresy and schism are two theological scarecrows, which they who uphold a party in religion use to fight away such as making inquiry into it, are ready to oppose it if it appear either erroneous or suspicious. For as Plutarch reports of a painter who, having unskilfully painted a cock, chased away all cocks and hens, so that the imperfection of his art might not appear in comparison with nature; so men willing for ends to admit of no fancy but their own, endeavor to hinder an inquiry into it by way of comparison of somewhat with it, peradventure truer, so that the deformity of their own might not appear.

Rightly to define schism we should first distinguish clearly between what organic unity in the material world is, and in what sense it may be affirmed in the realm of personal beings. Confusion in the discussion of Church unity results

from failure to regard this distinction, as is apt to be the case when symbols are identified with realities, or metaphors confused with facts. In the physical order organic unity is primarily quantitative; in the personal order it is essentially qualitative. There is analogy but not identity between the two. Each has its own constitutive units, its forms of development, its lines of possible growth. In the former the structural units are ultra-microscopic particles, specifically determined in each organism, but probably of similar chemical constitution in all living matter. The latter has likewise its structural units, of originally similar psychological elements, and capable also of many diversities in the development of personal characteristics. Human society is a visible corporate unity so far as it belongs to the physical order determined by material conditions, and blood relationships, and traceable through lines of descent and variations according to the laws of organic heredity. But in so far as it is a personal order, realized in a union of individuals in the sphere of freedom, it is more than a physical unity; it takes form in a body of laws and social institutions; it exists and grows, and multiplies according to the nature of its own spiritual being, and its history is the revelation of the inner spirit of its life. Hence, while it is visible so far as the external relations of its members are concerned, it is invisible, but none the less real, so far as its organizing energy is of the spirit spiritual.

Apply, then, such obvious distinctions to the conception of the organic unity of the Church. That is at one and the same time, so far as it exists, both a visible and an invisible unity. In its full realization it must be both. It is an obvious grouping of a certain number of individuals at a particular place and time, a definite collection of personal units. They may at first be loosely bound together like a primitive colony of cells. But the organizing principle is the invisible spirit of its life which carries it on and out to more closely interwoven and stable forms of social well-being. One form

may be outgrown, and another may give place to one more complexly and highly organized. A separation from church organizations which are no longer needed, or are corrupt, is not of itself schismatic. The wholeness of the Church may require it for its survival. But any breach of its outward unity which at the same time violates its invisible unity, is a wrong done to the Holy Spirit of its life. And that is sinful schism.

We may think of the visible church on earth, and the invisible communion in the heavens. Or we may distinguish between the true members of Christ's Church and those who may be in it but not of it. There is, however, another sense, which should be kept in mind, when we speak of the visible and the invisible church. A particular church in its place and time is a visible society, but it stands, or should stand, there and then for the whole Church which is invisible. It is the visible presentation in that place of the whole Church. It loses its consciousness of being in and for the whole Church at the peril of falling into the sin of schism of itself from the one body of Christ. So far as from outward necessity, and not its own will, it ceases to be to the world without the evident symbol of the whole Church; so far as through subjection to its own tradition or any pride in its own name it fails to make evident to the world passing by its door the invisible unity of the whole Church, in which it has its being, it is in danger of falling into a state of schism and is in peril of the judgment.

The supreme obligation of any part of the whole Church not so to assert itself as to prevent any other part of the Church from communion with the whole Church was clearly perceived and stated by an eminent Anglican writer, Thorndike, in his "Due Way of Composing Differences," as long ago as 1660. Of the article, "The One Catholic Church," he writes:

For either it signifies nothing, or it signifies that God

hath founded one visible church; that is, that he hath obliged all churches (and all Christians, of whom all churches consist) to hold visible communion with the whole church in the visible offices of God's public service. And therefore I am satisfied that the differences upon which we are divided cannot be settled upon any terms which any part of the whole church shall have just cause to refuse as inconsistent with the unity of the whole church. For in that case we must needs become schismatics by settling ourselves upon such laws, under which any church may refuse to communicate with us, because it is bound to communicate with the whole church. (Works, vol. v., p. 27. For this and other citations from Thorndike, see Mason, op. cit., pp. 179-195.)

Recognizing this principle, the question recurs, who, then, shall judge between us? How are we to judge ourselves?

A recent candid and earnest lecturer found himself much embarrassed as he pursued this inquiry, How shall judgment be rendered amid existing differences within the Church? One after another he examines the several principles of authority that are asserted, and finds them all wanting. First, he finds that it is laying too much upon the Episcopate to make it the determinative factor; the Roman autocratic authority also fails, as indeed there have been schisms between contesting claimants for St. Peter's chair. The Independent theory likewise is insufficient as that involves the judgment of some single separated part over all other parts of the body. The federative principle evades and does not solve the vital problem because it neither begins nor ends with any inherent principle of judgment of the whole body by the life of the body as a whole. Or, as from our biological point of view one would say, it is not an organism judging in what its own life consists. The denominational principle he puts aside as a confession of natural inability to meet the moral responsibility of the oneness of the whole Church. Finally this writer falls back upon the principle of "brotherhood" within the Church. That, at least, it may

be said, is an integrating element of the continuous life of the Church.*

Naturally this author fails to find an authority to judge the churches, because such authority comes not from above, nor from below, but is from within; it is the Spirit which beareth witness of itself in and through the continuous life of the Church. It is the unceasing self-judgment of the Church by the Spirit which dwelleth within it. To this single and searching test the chief of the Apostles brought the primitive churches; If any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his: he that is spiritual judgeth all things, and he himself is judged of no man. Have we the mind of Christ?

Penetrating to the dividing of soul and ecclesiastical body, decisive for judging whether our own or another communion is of the one true Church of Christ, may well be for us all in this day of the Lord's searching of his people, that first use of the word catholic in the sub-apostolic age, by Ignatius, "Wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church." It is God's will to sum up all things in Christ. For one to subtract one's own things from the things of others in Christ, is itself an act of schism. And by the same sign to refuse to receive the things which others have found in their vital experience to be of Christ, is schismatical.

For continuance in the sinful state of schism each Church must stand at the judgment before its own Master and Lord. The prophets of reconciliation from the past, of whom in their times the world was not worthy, would rise up in judgment against us, if we see not in this generation the sign of the Son of man. The Apostles of reasonableness from among our own ancestors would be witnesses against us, if we find not now the way of peace for the Churches. The hopes that have been disappointed, the efforts that have failed, the prayers that wait to be answered from the ages

*Unity and Schism, T. A. Lacy. The above is a summary of his chief points.

past, would be our greater condemnation, if now our free churches can consent longer to remain divided, and we should throw off upon some distant future our present responsibility for continuance in the sinful state of schism.

The Puritans, who first established their churches for themselves and their children in New England, in their covenant and declaration of their faith at Cambridge in 1648, made in its preface this stirring appeal; not for their immediate successors only may it avail, but, as a voice indeed crying from the wilderness, may it be heard, calling us all to repent of our divisions, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand!

It will be far from us so to attest the discipline of Christ, as to detest the disciples of Christ; so to contend for the seamless coat of Christ as to crucify the living members of Christ; so to divide ourselves about Church communion, as through breaches to open a wide gap for a deluge of Anti-Christian and profane malignity to swallow up both Church and State. What shall we say more? Is difference about Church-order become an inlet for all disorders in the kingdom? hath the Lord indeed left us to such hardness of heart, that Church government shall become a snare to Zion (as sometimes Moses was to Egypt, Ex. 10: 7), that we cannot leave contesting and contending about it, till the kingdom be destroyed? Did not the Lord Jesus, when He dedicated His sufferings to His Church, and also unto His Father, make it His earnest and only prayer for us in this world that we all might be one in Him? And is it possible that He (whom the Father heard always) should not have His last and solemn prayer heard and granted? Or shall it be granted for all the saints elsewhere, and not for the saints in England? so that amongst them dissension shall grow even about Church-union and communion?

IV

THE HISTORICAL METHOD OF APPROACH*

MY topic is the historical approach to the problem of Church unity. This historical method in our day is somewhat different from what it used to be. We have come to see that we can draw few reliable conclusions from a certain kind of historical research into the subject of Church origins and of Church authenticity. The effort, namely, to discover what was the habit and practice of the early and Apostolic Church as the basis for the reunion of Christendom has proved to be more or less futile. In the first place, that effort is sure to be inconclusive in its results. That is not to impugn the value of historical study, or to say that history is not a science; but as Canon Rawlinson has remarked, "Inasmuch as 'history never repeats itself,' historical conclusions, unlike those of the physical sciences, are unverifiable. They can never be subjected to the test of experiment, and consequently they can never be 'proved.' "† And since the evidence in the case is at its best "fragmentary and disputable," there will always be a "margin of ambiguity"; the facts in the case are "compatible" with the view of those who assert the theory of an

*The revision of a paper read January 23, 1917, at a meeting of the North American Committee in preparation for the World Conference of Faith and Order. Reprinted with permission from the *Constructive Quarterly*, September, 1917.

†"The Principle of Authority" in the volume of "Foundations," p. 384.

original apostolic succession, but they do not "necessitate" it (p. 383), and the effort to lay the foundation of any theory of the Church on historical facts, and on these alone, is sure to be inconclusive and to lead nowhere. Moreover, even if it could be 'proved,' as we say, that this or that theory of the Church or practice of Church government did obtain in the Church of post-apostolic times, it would not therefore follow that it is to be absolutely repeated in the belief and practice of today. The Church treasures many truths and follows many practices which admittedly are not to be found in the earliest history of the Church. The idea that the norm of the Church was determined in the first hundred years of its life would seem to limit the operation of the Holy Ghost.

But now there are two directions in which the historical method may well be applied—indeed must be, if we are to make any advance in our approach to the problem of Church unity. The first of these is a careful review of certain episodes in Church history, where the diverging currents of Church life may be said to have their origin. And the second of these is an historical explanation of the origin of those religious ideas which have become incorporated in the different communions of the Catholic Church and must be reunited in the One, Holy, Catholic Church, the object of our hopes and prayers. It is of these two uses of the historical method that I wish briefly to speak.

One of those crucial epochs in the history of the Church, in which divergent currents of Church life had their origin, is surely that of the Reformation. And, to illustrate partially our subject, let us look closely at one phase of the Reformation period, namely the development of Church life in England. We find ample materials here for a thoughtful and promising application of the use of a true historical inquiry. A careful review of this whole period in the light of modern Church thought and feeling, in the expectation that after that long and tragic story is reviewed some basis

will be discovered on which reunion may be achieved, must have fruitful and permanent results. Was there ever a day when such a task could be entered upon so hopefully as at present?

No one, I think, can read even casually the story of the Puritan Secession, without being convinced of two things. First, that the matters upon which men were divided were more fundamental than the matter of vestments, the sign of the Cross, the liberty to prophesy, the attitude at the Communion, the ring at the marriage service, the wording of the baptismal office. Had all these been conceded to the Puritan conscience, the division would not have ended. Doubtless Elizabeth and her advisers were right, when with keen eye they saw that the rift ran deeper; that it involved the more fundamental questions of faith and order. In theology, the difference was between the Arminian and the Calvinist; in form of worship, between the liturgist and the non-liturgist; in polity, between Episcopacy and either Presbyterianism or Independency. But now, serious as the differences doubtless were, another fact is equally clear. And it is this: that the failure to compose these differences was caused, not by their undoubted seriousness, not because these ideas were fundamentally incompatible and irreconcilable, but because of the temper of the time, the temper of the men who engaged in these high disputes, and because of the underlying assumptions which conditioned and controlled them. Looking back over these controversies with an impartial eye, one can see opportunity after opportunity thrown away, when, without detriment either to faith or order, principles which seemed to be opposed might have been comprehended in a higher unity, had there been that irenic and catholic mind and temper in the Church, which could have grasped both sides in this great issue and have understood them to be but parts of a greater whole. Had the Puritans but been less headstrong and radical in their demands, and had the Churchmen but been broader and

more fraternal in their sympathies; had the Puritans been less insistent on breaking with the historic past of the Church, and had the Churchmen been more in touch with the age they had helped to produce, there had never been the great and lamentable failure to understand each other, and to compose the great ideas for which they stood.

But it was an age of division. It was a time of no-quarter in the intellectual and spiritual world. Great ideas were contending for the mastery. Religious feeling ran high. The political life of a whole nation was bound up in the religious struggle as had not been the case since the days of the Holy Roman Empire. What one party denied or resented in another, it claimed and defended for itself. The whole temper of the time made for division and not for unity.

Again: nothing is clearer than that the very idea of comprehension, which is essential to unity with liberty, was foreign to the mind of the age in which the great Separation took place. It was not an age of comprehension, it was an age of uniformity. The word comprehension was indeed on men's lips; but the only comprehension that men really comprehended was that which involved the unconditional surrender of their opponents. The idea of unity in diversity was both intellectually and spiritually unintelligible to an age which produced characters of the type of Elizabeth and of Laud, of Lord Clarendon and Richard Baxter. These people were not what in the language of the day could be called good "mixers"; and ideas for which they stood did not easily coalesce. Let one look beneath the surface of any of the three great historic and futile attempts which were made to hold together the Church, and one finds the underlying assumption of a uniformity of either one kind or another, the fatal rock on which they all split.

When King James at Hampton Court declared "that a presbytery agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the Devil," he put the case about as all men felt it. There were

arguments in plenty to prove that the Church of England was divine in its origin and structure, and that the Puritan Church was the same. But one reads the whole bitter story without coming across a single argument to prove that both were taught of the same Spirit and were therefore compatible the one with the other. The whole intellectual premise upon which these debates proceeded was that the one must supplant the other; in vain does one look for the accepted and controlling idea that the one might supplement the other. The materials for unity were at hand. They are to be found in the irenic declaration of Charles II when he called the Savoy Conference, of which a conformist writer said: "If ever a divine sentence was in the mouth of any king and his mouth erred not in judgment, I verily believe it was thus with our present majesty when he composed that admirable declaration, which next to Holy Scripture I adore, and think that the united judgment of the whole nation cannot frame a better or more unexceptional expedient for a firm and lasting concord of these distracted Churches." They are to be found in the equally broad-minded attitude of William of Orange in his opening address to the House of Commons when he said: "I hope you will leave room for the admission of all Protestants that are willing and able to serve. Their conjunction in my service will tend to the better uniting you among yourselves and the strengthening you against your common enemies." And even more explicitly they are to be found in the proposals of Dr. Tillotson, afterward archbishop, to the convocation ordered by William, which called for a review of the Liturgy; a leaving indifferent of certain ceremonies enjoined in the Liturgy or Canons; a recognition of the validity of the ordination of the ministers of foreign reformed Churches; and an agreement that those who have been ordained only by presbyters shall not be compelled to renounce their former ordinations.

The *materials* are not wanting; the history of the period abounds in propositions within which the unity of the

Church might have been preserved. But no sooner do we enter the Savoy Conference, or open the doors of the Convocation of 1689, than we find the possibility of peace and unity outlawed at once, not for the want of materials, but for want of the right temper, and the necessary underlying intellectual and spiritual assumptions which alone could use and shape those materials to the desired end.

To those who regard the visible unity of Christendom as the greatest need of our common Christianity, it must be a cause of ever recurring regret that the efforts made to preserve that unity in the English-speaking Church came to nothing. But a review of that great historic failure has in it this great element of hope, that it reveals the undoubted fact that the reason for that failure lay not in the utter incompatibility of the ideas for which the great contending parties stood—but solely in the temper of the time and in the character of its ruling ideas. Once let that fact be gripped, and the future glows with promise. The temper of that age is not the temper of ours. The ruling ideas of that time are not the governing ideas of our own. What was wanting then is present now. The clash of contending principles, the strife of opposing ideas, has given way to broader ideas of peace and toleration. The fixed notion of uniformity has yielded to the more catholic idea of comprehension. In a word, the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere in which a Church unity that does not at the same time deny liberty can be understood and realized, is as present in our day as it was absent in the day of the great Separation. Imagine a Savoy Conference in the year of grace 1917. In imagination picture a second William of Orange appointing a Commission having for its deep spiritual purpose the prayerful consideration of those questions which still divide the children of a common spiritual ancestry. Such a Commission would meet not in an age of division, but of unity. The temper, the motion of mind and heart which tended then to keep men apart, today would draw them together. The

conditions which operated to produce failure two centuries ago would conspire to success now.

Is it then too much to hope for that with the materials still in our hands, and with still greater spiritual possessions of the temper and ideas necessary for such a task, we may resume in our day what was given up now over two centuries ago? What was a fruitless task then, may well be a fruitful one now; that which terminated then in a great division, may well terminate now in a new and glorious union. He would need to be entrenched within his own prejudices, blind to some of the most glowing pages of history, who would close his eyes to such a hope, and rule it out of the bounds of possibility. But he who says, "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church," must believe that by the operation of the same Spirit we shall grow together into one household of God, being "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner stone; in whom each several building, fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit."

The second application of the historical method in the approach to the problem of Church unity lies in the tracing to their psychological origins those religious ideas which have become incorporated in the life of different branches of the Catholic Church. It consists in an effort to appreciate what we may call the religious values of those forms of Church faith and practice which have survived nearly two thousand years of Christian life and worship, and to study how these may be united in a larger conception of the Church than any one of them separately represents. The presupposition is that the Holy Ghost has not ceased to operate in the heart of the Christian body. If therefore there is any solid consensus of opinion and practice which a considerable number of Christians cherish, which has been

incorporated by them in institutional form and perpetuated by settled principle, then that opinion, that practice has been authenticated, as it were, by the Holy Ghost. The problem is to have that opinion and practice recognized and its authentication admitted by the whole body of Christ's people. And when that is done, the true dimensions of the Catholic Church and its true inclusiveness will begin to appear, and its unity will rise of itself out of a broadened Christian consciousness. In a word, the one, true, Catholic and Apostolic Church already exists, the Body and the Bride of Christ. But it is not yet perceived, and it is not yet realized on earth. Each one of the separate communions on earth enshrines some portion of its total truth, and embodies some fragments of its total worth. But until each one perceives that it is not in itself that total truth and has not in itself that total worth, until each one comes to recognize the religious value of the truth embodied in other communions and thus for the first time perceives the Higher Truth of which they are all a part—Church unity lies in the realm of religious prophecy but not in the way of immediate fulfilment.

At the present time, therefore, the real labor of all who yearn for the unity of Christ's Church lies there. It lies in showing the entire compatibility of those seemingly opposite ideas of the Church for which the separate communions stand and to which they witness. It lies in showing that men are in the main right when they assert, and wrong when they deny. It lies in showing that neither are all right nor all wrong, but that the truth lies in a synthesis of those religious values for which each stands. Those who have insisted on the value of liturgical worship, are right. History proves it. So are those who have insisted on the value of unpremeditated, open, congregational prayer. History proves that too. "Those who have insisted on a ministry of order, are right; so are those who have insisted that the spirit of prophecy may light on any man." The theory of

the Sacraments which insists that the grace that is in them depends on the way in which that grace is mediated, is right; and so is the theory which declares that the grace depends on the faith of those who receive them. Under all of these conceptions there is a common truth which unites all Christians. If Christians can affirm the truth in which they do believe while the reality of that truth in which others believe is not presumed to be questioned or to be denied, an approach to unity is suggested which, if it be humbly followed, must, in the end, lead us to the Higher Truth which is the unity for which we all pray and to which we all aspire. That rediscovery is not best made by hasty attempts at external union. A common communion before we have acquired the spirit of union or the spiritual perception of the total truth which makes us one, can hardly hasten, but may seriously retard, our progress. But Christians of all communions need a spiritual education in those religious values which they do not hold, or which are not embodied in their own Church forms and practices. Here is a promising and needed effort in the field of Church union in the day in which we live.

Take, for example, the matter of Church worship. Christians are more divided at this point than most people like to believe. It is to be lamented that this is so, but there can be no doubt of it. I have heard Episcopalians who seldom attend any Church but their own, and who have certain qualms of conscience if they do, assert after leaving an orderly, dignified and reverent service of worship in a non-Episcopal Church, that it did not even seem to them that they had been to church at all. And non-Episcopalians untrained in the Prayer Book and its forms of worship frequently come away with anything but a restful and grateful sense of having been in the House of the Lord. Each has been so strictly trained in his own form and method of worship that the other seems strange, unfamiliar, and often even forbidding. Yet underlying both there is the common

faith that where two or three are gathered together in His Name, there is He in the midst of them; that supernatural grace, of which the world knows nothing, awaits the souls that meet before the invisible throne of grace; that prayer can bring down unearthly blessings; that divine pardon can wash a guilty soul; that a lame man can be made to walk, and a heart dumb with its grief can be made to sing—that, in a word, spiritual miracles can be wrought akin to those that were wrought in ancient Galilee. But this faith in the efficacy of prayer and worship is expressed in different ways. Two different, and both true and efficient, theories of worship underlie the services of the Church. According to the one, the spirit of devotion is best expressed, the faith of the believer is best aroused, his heart touched and quickened, by the use of common and familiar forms of prayer, which gain in sweetness and in efficacy because they have been sanctified by age-long use and fall like the dew from heaven upon the ear and heart of the believer. The service of worship is preserved in orderliness and assured in oneness to all believers, by the common use of its great manual and treasury of devotion, the Book of Common Prayer. On the other hand, there is the theory of worship which insists on the idea of spontaneity, which believes in giving the Spirit free rein and utterance, which feels itself limited and cramped by the necessity of reading the same lessons, repeating the same prayers, following the same forms week after week and year after year. A book of devotion has its place, according to this theory of worship, but not in prescribing the words or forms in which the quickened heart shall utter itself. And any theory of worship which does prescribe those forms seems to it to put a limit on the liberty of prayer and prophecy which is a detriment to the pure and unrestrained worship and prayer of God's people.

And there you are. These two theories of worship, each sound in itself, exist side by side, and there is precious little overlapping; there is precious little sign that after two or

three centuries of co-existence each so much as recognizes the validity or the religious value of the other. It is rare enough, for example, that one hears free prayer in any Episcopal church. On the other hand, how rare it is in a non-Episcopal church ever to hear anything *but* free prayer. If the laymen in many of the non-liturgical Churches at the time of devotion hear coming what promises to be a collect, prejudice is likely to drive all thought of prayer from their minds. A minister using the Book of Common Prayer is sure to be asked why he uses a book that belongs to another Church. When the matter of worship is discussed, that discussion usually consists in the defence of one or the other of these forms of prayer. Thus, Dr. Rainsford has said, "I do not believe that to the educated spiritual consciousness there is any special appeal in variety of extemporaneous prayer." And *per contra* old Cotton Mather has said that to use other than free and "unstinted" prayers is a virtual denial of the Holy Ghost. Those who believe in set prayer speak of the infelicities of extemporaneous prayer, and those who believe in free prayer speak of the formality and unhelpfulness of read prayers; and nowhere is there any perceptible approach to a general spiritual comprehension of the religious value of each. The fact is that the Anglican Church was the only Reformed Church which did not admit free prayer in its service; and the Puritan Church was the only Reformed Church which did not use set prayer. Every other Church recognizes the place of each in its liturgy. And not until the non-liturgical Churches recognize the value and the need of Common Prayer which touches that which is most catholic in us, "which strongly links us to our kind," and not until the Anglican Church restores to her liturgy the free and unrestrained language of aspiration and devotion, not until each of these two ideas of worship is reinforced by the other, shall we approximate that spirit of unity which alone can lead to a reunited Church. A recent writer, Canon Rawlinson, in his article on the Church

in the collection of essays called "Foundations," an article from which I shall quote abundantly, has remarked that real Church unity, so far as Church worship is concerned, cannot take place until the Pope of Rome appreciates and values the Methodist prayer meeting, or until the Puritan learns to worship with insight and devout intelligence at Mass in St. Peters.* That is expressing the thing of course in its ultimate terms. But some such synthesis in spiritual perception, and appreciation of religious value, is an absolute prerequisite to what we call Church unity. And how much of an education is needed a simple survey of the existing Church order is sufficient to demonstrate to any man's satisfaction.

Or here is the theory of the Church itself. Again, at least *au fond,* all Christians are at one. No one who bears the name and shares the faith of Christ would put the Church beside any other human organization, no matter what it is. A thirty-third degree Mason harboring a feeling for his order which is wholly beyond my ability to understand, and at the same time a member of I care not what Church, draws a line between the two which may be as thin as a hair, but at the same time as fine and hard as a diamond. Every Christian in his soul, be he rationalist or sacramentarian, evangelical or sacerdotalist, Protestant or Catholic, cherishes a supernatural idea of the Church, looks upon it as the Bride of Christ, the supreme object of His love, the Body of Christ, the very incorporation of His Spirit, the Heavenly City, the New Jerusalem, the Communion of Saints.

But now, starting with this community of idea, that idea proceeds to work itself out in two sharply contrasting theories of the Church. According to the one, the continuity of the Church life is to be found in the continuity of its institutions, sacraments, ministry; according to the other, in the continuity of faith, of evangelic experience in the

* "Foundations," p. 403.

heart of the believer; according to the one, the Church is a kingdom whose power and authority are vested in its rulers and delegated to those below; according to the other, it is a democracy in which the power and authority are vested in the people and delegated to those who are above. According to the one, the Church is above all an outward and visible entity, authenticated in history by its apostolic priesthood, an organic body apart from which no Churches, but only other Christian bodies or communions, exist. According to the other, the Church is above all an invisible and spiritual order, authenticated in history by the perpetuation of faith in the hearts of Christ's people, so that wherever faith is, there is the Church, and wherever faith is not, there, no matter what external proprieties may exist, there is no Church. According to the one, the outstanding Church figure is the priest; according to the other, the prophet.

In a word, the one is the Catholic, the other the Protestant idea of the Church. The one lays stress on the institutional, the other on the non-institutional and purely evangelical idea; of which the one tends to regard the ministry as primarily sacerdotal, the other as primarily prophetic. Of course this antithesis is never quite absolute; the priest is expected to give some spiritual evidence of vocation, and the prophet is expected to have some form of ordination. Nevertheless, it is from a divergence of respective emphasis upon the priestly and prophetic ideas of the ministry that whatever is distinctive in the two great historic Christian positions proceeds. Upon the one hand "we have the ministry of the Sacraments given the primary place; stress laid upon institutions as the media of the Spirit's operation; the conception of ordination, not as the recognition, but as the bestowal of an office, and therewith of the 'charisma' or gift of grace needed to sustain it; and the strict requirement that men shall not take upon themselves the discharge of functions in the Church to which they have not

been formally commissioned."* But upon the other hand, the supreme and determining principle is simply the *Gospel;* it is by the heart of faith that the Spirit is received; not the Sacrament but Christians are the true "extension of the Incarnation"; and the Christian community is to be sought primarily not in any outward and visible network of ecclesiastical organization, but in the purely spiritual entity begotten and constituted by the Gospel.

Now these two ideas also have been incorporated in two co-existent, parallel organizations which cannot come into union, much less inter-communion, because there is no underlying spiritual apprehension of the religious value, importance and indispensability of the truth to which the other bears witness and of which it is a visible embodiment. But there is no likelihood that either will disappear. The Catholic idea is certainly here to stay. But so is the Protestant. And the ministries of various Protestant denominations may quite legitimately point to the witness of the souls they shepherd and may exclaim with St. Paul, "the seal of our apostleship are ye in the Lord." Regenerate souls, to their thinking, constitute a validity of the Spirit which far transcends the validity of outward continuity or of visible ordination. If each of these is here to stay, the hope and the only hope of Reunion lies in a spiritual apprehension by the proponents and believers of each in the truth for which the other stands.

Yet such an appreciation by the Protestant of the Catholic Idea of the Church and conversely by the Catholic of the Protestant Idea, is just what is most noticeably absent at the present time. The average Protestant, though he be educated in Church history and even trained in the development of Church theory for the past two thousand years, looks upon the Catholic Idea of the Church as an unscriptural, an unspiritual and an unwarranted crystallization in external and material forms, of the 'pure Gospel.'

* "Foundations," p. 382.

To him it is an obstruction in the path of Christianity, which must be swept away by the rising tides of spirituality before the Church can hope to win the assent and loyalty of intelligent and enlightened men. The Catholic Idea of the Church is to him a survival of mediævalism in our modern world. It is an anachronism which cannot continue much longer. I have talked with many eminent Protestant preachers and teachers, and it is the rare exception to discover one who has any patience with or any sympathetic or spiritual conception of the Catholic Idea of the Church.

Per contra, it is difficult to find a Catholic who sees an historic or spiritual basis for the Church in the Protestant position. He finds there much that is 'true' in individual Christian experience. He discovers all the marks of a genuine Christian piety, an undoubted Christian faith, an admirable ardor for the propagation of the Gospel. But there is nothing in this of an ecclesia, a divinely instituted and authenticated entity which is the very Body of Christ and Organ of His Spirit.

And there you are again. And again a fundamental education in religious values alone can cause these two Ideas to coalesce and point the way to their final union in the truly Catholic Church. The Protestant must come to apprehend the indispensability of the Catholic position; and the Catholic must learn to recognize the validity of the Protestant witness; and together they must mount to the higher Truth which includes them both.

"Each of the two great Christian types has need to be at once the scholar and teacher of the other. The final unity (which must assuredly be outwrought in God's good time) will come not by way of compromise, but by way of comprehension. Truth is a synthesis, not an elimination, of differences, and the claims of conflicting 'authorities' must be harmonized by being included and justified, not negated, in the ultimate whole."* So-called Catholic religion must

* "Foundations," p. 405.

include, if it would be perfect, the so-called Protestant Idea. At its best this stands for personal religion, for the spiritual freedom of the individual, and for his answerableness in the last resort to his Maker alone; for the prophetic word as the dynamic which alone can vitalize the ritual of the priest; for the truth of evangelism and the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. "The Catholicism of the future certainly cannot afford to disregard the truths of the Protestant witness, and must to a certain extent reinterpret and revalue (without abandoning) its institutionalism in the light of them."* It will recognize the right of all Christian communities animated by the Spirit of Christ to be included in that one Communion of Saints which is the blessed Body of Christ's faithful people; it will recognize the spiritual validity of any Protestant pastor as a true and godly minister of the Lord, although it might be difficult or impossible to recognize him apart from episcopal ordination as in the catholic sense and for Catholics a qualified minister of the Sacraments; it will stress the faith of the believer *as well as* the regular responsibility of the ministrant as giving grace to the Sacraments; and it will view the Sacraments themselves as one of the means of grace rather than as the sole method of the impartation of the full sacramental grace of Christ.

On the other hand, Protestantism with its emphasis upon personal faith, personal authority, personal responsibility, personal religion, will grow, must grow into an appreciation of the importance, indispensability of the Catholic point of view. It must grasp the necessity of institutionalism, "of rites and sacraments, as being neither dead forms, nor illogical excrescences upon a religion otherwise wholly spiritual, but as being themselves spirit and life, the natural and normal media of the operation of the Word-made-Flesh. So, again, Catholicism witnesses to the glory of Churchmanship, the sense of spiritual kinship and unity, not with a

* "Foundations," p. 405.

section of Christendom, but with the whole; to the idea of worship, as prior in religion to that of edification; to the communion of quick and dead in Christ's mystical Body"; all of which "represent elements of historic religion which neither Protestantism nor the universal Church of the future can afford to lose."* It is here that Protestantism is weak today. Its sense of Churchmanship and solidarity, of universality, of compactness, of institutionalism—is all weak where it needs to be strong.

What we need to pray for, then, is not that this or that experiment of reunion shall succeed, not that this or that plan of an interlocking Church relationship shall work out, but that these two great contrasting Church positions and ideas, each with a noble history, each with spiritual first-fruits to justify its truth, each firmly embedded in the religious consciousness of our time and of all time, shall come to understand each other; more than this, shall come to understand that each has that to give the other without which it cannot fully realize its own true, best life. What we need to hope and pray for is, that out of a reunited consciousness, out of a Church consciousness in which these two great historic, but by no means exclusive, Ideas shall have met and fused,—that Church, one in faith, hope, doctrine, one in spirit, love and truth, may rise on earth in which all the children and families of our Lord shall meet, and there shall be one fold, one Shepherd, and one Bishop of our souls.

* "Foundations," p. 404.

V

THE PLACE OF THE CREED IN THE LIFE OF THE CHURCH

IF the creeds were under fire before the war, they have certainly been subjected to a direct bombardment by it. All creeds for some time have been at a great discount, but today we have been assured that they have been counted finally out. Reality, simplicity, intelligibleness, rationality, activity, these are the keynotes of the religion of tomorrow, and with them the continued use of antiquated and metaphysical statements of faith have nothing whatever to do. Even if the average man were able to understand or to assent to the articles of the Apostles' Creed, for example, these articles in no sense describe religion as a man understands it, or ought to understand it, or as he lives it or ought to live it. It is not even an adequate summary of the most salient features in the life of Christ. And it certainly is an inadequate summary of the life of the Christian. Is not therefore one of the most needed reforms in the life of the Church in such a day as this, which calls above all for simplicity and reality in religion, to remove with reverence, it may be, but assuredly with courage these ancient survivals of a faith that has gone; to free the atmosphere of the Church, as it were, from any suspicion of intellectual insincerity; and to present men instead, to quote Professor Hocking, "not with an impoverished religion or with a minimum faith, but with a maximum faith expressed in intelligible terms"?

It is not only the layman who feels like this about the

creeds. Many a modern minister in our so-called "free" churches has felt that he had no more sacred calling than to rid his church of the incubus of the creed. Pitching creeds overboard has become his most exhilarating and his most sacred task. One is reminded of that famous night in the National Assembly in the early stages of the French Revolution when noble and bourgeois united in throwing over one after another the ancient and traditional customs of the old regime. So today ministers and people have worked hand in glove to rid the Church of all the traditions of the old ecclesiastical order. Theirs must be a Church in its thought, ritual, practice, which is strictly down-to-date.

This labor of ridding the Churches of their creeds, and incidentally of the old doctrines which the creeds contained and intoned, has gone far enough in our day for at least some observers to raise the question if already it has not gone too far. There is a suspicion somehow that *all* is not right. For with the creeds there seems to have vanished something else, something quite impalpable, something that defies description, yet something that is felt to be ponderatingly real and having immense religious value. We grope for words to describe it—historical perspective, a sense of historical continuity; reverence for the past; the religious value of the familiar, the ancient, the traditional; the importance of symbolism as over against sheer rationalism; the importance of intellectual conviction as related to duty; the feeling that theology after all may have an immense bearing on life. The wonder is if after all we have not parted too hastily with an immense spiritual possession. The feeling remains that our modern Church, now that we have it all fixed up and furnished, lacks at least something that the great cathedrals of the Middle Ages still possess. How shall we word it? But the feeling itself will not down.

It will not down when we look at the architecture of many a modern church. The floor is arranged so that everyone can see the preacher. The aisles converge at the front.

It is a perfect auditorium. But somehow it fails of being a Church.

It will not down when we traverse the service. There is not a note in it that can offend the most fastidious and critical intellect. It is modern to the last syllable. Even the doctrinal hymns are gone. The congregation is not asked to sing "Nothing in my hand I bring, Simply to Thy Cross I cling." Instead it sings "Christian rise and act thy creed, Let thy prayer be in thy deed." When the place comes for the Creed, instead of the old discredited creeds of the Church, the worshipper rejoices to rise and say "I believe in the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and in the Golden Rule." What could be more simple and reasonable? "Who cannot say that?" he triumphantly remarks to his friend as they go out. The prayers contain no suggestion that they are addressed to anyone either in heaven or on earth. And the sermon is as shorn of Biblical theology as a sheep just come from the shearing. What can be more elevating, more rational? And yet with what longing unsatisfied does many a modern soul escape from such a service?

And it will not down either when one considers the mood which such a modernity produces, the feeling that it creates toward the Church as an institution. The sweeping away of all suggestion of supernaturalism has resulted in a certain degradation in the thought of men for the Church. Somehow it has lost something of its spiritual authority, describe it as you will. The thin but hard line between it and secular organizations—its one great safeguard—has become dim or disappeared altogether. One '*feels*' for it in an immensely different fashion from that feeling which made St. Francis kneel at the altar of St. Damiens, or makes many a modern saint find in his Church, as it were, an unearthly shrine.

Neither will it down when we consider the lack of standard or conviction in much of contemporary religious thought and feeling. In our reaction against dogma, we

have unhappily swung to the opposite extreme. Men today are not only open-minded, their minds seem often to be open at both ends. They are assuredly not dogmatic in their beliefs. The question is whether the blind and shallow sentiment which is the only substitute many people know for the unshakable realities of faith, can be called belief at all. Men are not bigots. But what are they? Where are they?

All of which is to say very crudely and loosely what many competent religious observers deeply feel and deeply deplore. And the root of it they know to lie in the loss of standard, of thoroughness, of religious competence and adequacy in the teachings of the Church; in the substitution of ethics for religion; in the failure to announce, to interpret, to impart these fundamental truths which from the first have constituted the glory of the message of the Church, its unique inspiration, the secret of its influence and of its authority.

In a word, we are brought sharply back to the creeds themselves. The times in which we live call not for their abandonment, but for their reintroduction. They have been abused. Now is the time in which they should be rightly used. They must not be used as tests of discipleship, but it does not therefore follow that they should not be used at all. And if they are to be used at all, they will be used first as a standard of the teaching of the Church; and second, as a general confession of faith by the worshipping congregation.

I suppose that slight hesitation, if any, would be felt in agreeing that for standard of teaching, the old historic Creeds—the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds—hold and will continue to hold their place. Those best acquainted with the history of Christian doctrine will probably be the first to maintain this;* for they will best understand the value of these ancient symbols for history, as landmarks in the history of theological thought and learning. They epitomize

* *Hibbert Journal,* January, 1914.

for us the otherwise incomprehensible story of Christian doctrine. They gather up into themselves the growing interpretation, in the light of the needs of the world and the thoughts of men, of the principle of the Gospel. They endeavor to compose opposing tendencies of thought, and to unite apparently antagonistic conceptions of the relation of Christ to God and to man, or of the nature of Christ Himself. Taken as documents of history, and historically studied and understood; placing oneself at the standpoint of their framers and of their age; allowing for the fashion of thought and use of language,—they become not only noble monuments of religious handiwork, but they become instinct with spiritual suggestion, and fructify and deepen the thought of him who reverently regards and uses them.

Yet even at this point we need an immense reviving of reverence for the creeds and of their spiritual use by the ministry as summaries of the essential Christianity, provoking thought, challenging interpretation, and so enlarging and enriching the mind and heart of the interpreter. Unfortunately we have swung a long way from that. We need to re-read what Carlyle wrote about old clothes in order to understand a kind of revival that is needed of feeling for old creeds. Let us substitute the word *creed* for the word *clothes* in a well-known passage in Sartor Resartus: "Often have I turned into the old [creeds] market to worship. With awe-struck heart I walk through that mammoth street as through a Sanhedrin of stainless ghosts. Silent are they but expressive in their silence of woe or joy, passions, virtues, crimes and all the fathomless good and evil in the prism men call life. Friends, trust not the heart of that man for whom old [creeds] are not venerable. Oh, let him in whom the flame of devotion is ready to go out, who has never worshipped and never known what it is to worship, pace and re-pace with constant thought the pavement of [Creed] Street and say whether his heart and his eyes can be dry."

Such a revival of the true understanding of the message of the historic creeds, and a fresh incorporation of their message in the teachings of the Church would go a long way toward the revivification of the preaching and teaching of the Church. For, as Rainey has said in his Cunningham lecture on the development of Christian doctrine: "A high Christian enthusiasm has usually been connected with strong and decided affirmation of doctrine and with a disposition to speak it out even more fully; that temper has been venturesome to speak even as it has been venturesome to do, as little fearing to declare God's will in human speech as to embody His will in human acts. The framers of those old creeds were fearless; and something of their fearlessness imparts itself to the modern preacher who knows how to use them." The Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, moreover, are the fountain-head of all other derived and subsequent formulations of faith. Many creeds have been written and will be written and ought to be written. Every one of them consciously or unconsciously will repose on these original incorporations in human speech of the unsearchable riches of Christ. And there is value in origins which all who do not wholly neglect the historical perspective well understand. To be saturated for substance of thought and of feeling in these ancient symbols is to acquire a richness and habit of speech for which perhaps there is no substitute. And spiritual substance is thus unconsciously imparted to the believer. Faith becomes fundamental.* By the use of these historic confessions by the teacher of religion, religious faith no longer remains vague, pious sentiment any more than it remains blind obedience to authority: it becomes something more than fugitive opinion; it implies truth or mature conviction, tried and tested. Our age, as we have seen, is not addicted to the same rigor and precision in religious as in scientific reflection; there is no danger of excessive articu-

* *Hibbert Journal, ibid. in loco.*

lation in Christian thought. The creeds save the preacher from the much more imminent danger of the utter opposite.

Besides being used as a standard of teaching, there is the use of the creed as a general confession of faith by the worshipping congregation. Historically, liturgically, as a missionary means for the propagation of faith, and from the point of view of religious psychology, the recitation of a confession of faith has always had a permanent place in the service of worship. It had such a place from the first. "We cannot but *speak*," said the early Apostles, "the things that we have seen and heard."* At first this telling of the story was necessarily spontaneous and individual. But as the Church grew and as the members of these Christian congregations came together, they wanted to lift up their voices in unison in a *common* testimony, in a general confession of their faith. In the fourth chapter of the Acts we read how, when the threatened Apostles returned to their fellows, they all lifted up their voices with one accord, repeating the glorious sentences of the Second Psalm. This was the speaking out by the whole congregation of their faith. And from that day to this in the continuous worship of the Church the recitation of its faith has had a permanent place. The worship of any Church is impoverished without it.

Liturgically it is one of the most effective portions of the service. Anyone possessing any degree of devotional temper and sensitiveness who finds himself in the presence of a worshipping congregation during the recitation or singing of the Creed must be moved by it. The participation of the congregation in the worship, the lifting of the worship by the congregation, is the essence of a true liturgy. And precisely as the congregation shares in the singing, in the prayers, in the Scriptures by their responsive reading of it, so in the teaching, through the lifting of the Creed. It has also its immense missionary value. Christians do not speak their

* See William R. Richards, "The Apostles' Creed."

faith out by themselves as they should. But they have a vast opportunity of doing so in common. Let a man struggling with doubt listen to a congregation confessing its faith in the Fatherhood of an Infinite God, in the Saviorhood of Christ, in the blessed Company of all faithful people, in the Life Everlasting, and it is an immense aid to his faith. The general confession of faith in the Church is one of the most potent means for its general dissemination. Students of Mohammedanism have not hesitated to say that the continual and universal repetition of the short, sharp creed of Islam, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet," has been an immense source of its strength for ages and one of the deciding factors in its spread. "Not the rattle of Mohammedan sabers or the thunder of its cavalry has been more terrible in the ears of its foes than the click of these words in the teeth of Moslems." And Christianity loses an invaluable aid in the propagation of the Gospel of Peace unless it gives its congregation the opportunity of uttering its faith. It is the act of utterance of good news to the world.

From the viewpoint of religious psychology, the urgency is just as great. Religious experience gains infinitely by expression. Confession is thus an essentially evangelic act. The escape of faith through the lips engenders it wonderfully in the heart. To suppress feeling is thus to induce or even to cultivate a kind of religious stoicism, a confirmed habit of apathy that is devitalizing. But let a congregation through the call to worship, the hymns, the Scriptures, first be lifted to a level of religious thought and feeling and then be given the opportunity to utter the faith *felt*, and something real has been done for it. There are religious emotions which so burden and oppress the heart, and others which so exalt and inspire, that they must have expression. To stifle them is a wrong and harm to the religious nature. To give them vent is to aid and cultivate the religious experience.

Suppose it be admitted, then, that the use of some creed, some general confession of faith by the congregation, should be an integral part of its worship. The question remains, What creed shall be used? Here we are confronted at once by the historical fact that only one Creed has been used by the Western Church for this purpose all through its history. The Apostles' Creed has been its confession of faith. The Nicene Creed has been the creed of the Eastern Church, and is used in the celebration of the Communion by the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England in its various branches. But the Apostles' Creed has been the confession in its church services of the Western Church for fifteen hundred years. And the abandonment, in certain Churches, of the inclusion of any creed in the service, has been due to a general feeling that this Creed no longer can be used without affront to the intelligence and conscience of modern men, and that no satisfactory substitute for it has as yet been evolved.

Few will, I think, question the truth of that last statement. How utterly unsatisfying the so-called modern substitutes are for the ancient Creed even the most radical of us, the ones least inclined to mediævalism or even mysticism or symbolism in any form, are the first to admit. Better nothing at all than this parade of up-to-date sentiments which masquerade in the place of a creed; this elimination from the Creed of what are felt to be its intolerable parts, leaving only the skeleton to be exhibited before a congregation; this total lack of any appeal to the emotions or spiritual imagination; this unedifying recitation of modern prose in place of the poetry of the ages and of the human heart. These so-called creeds are mere specters of ethical statement with neither outer beauty nor inner substance. They are in effect a summary of opinions rather than a creed. The thing has been tried, the thing is being tried, but it simply does nothing. It gets nowhere. It fails utterly to appeal, to lift, to satisfy, to do the work. The fact is, it is

either the old Creed or no creed at all. Some may question this, but really there is no question about it.

All of us, also, who have any reverence for the past, any sense of historical perspective, any gratitude for the possession of common religious property in the midst of our divided and distracted ecclesiastical world, feel a certain reluctance to part with the use of the Apostles' Creed as a continuing and living element in the life of the Church. We all feel its worth as one of the few really great symbols which have come down through the ages, binding age to age, and serving to preserve the unity of the Christian faith in the various transformations it has undergone in the broadening thought of men. We all feel its immense importance as a common, unifying expression of faith for the whole Church of Christ, serving to link the smallest chapel in the least of the denominations, even with the Church of Rome from which it seems so separate, and to signalize to the world that it *is* one Lord, one faith, one baptism. It remains today with the Lord's Prayer, the only expression of faith in which all Christians everywhere can and do unite. We all feel its spiritual appeal. No one can say it or hear it said without having deep spiritual emotions roused even by the sound of its familiar and wonderful words, which produce the purest of our spiritual experiences.

Not one of these considerations, however, or all of them together, can save the Creed for practical use in our Churches if it is true, upon the most careful and searching analysis, that it puts a premium upon insincerity or hypocrisy, that it flouts plain intelligence, indulges in double-dealing, encourages vagueness and sentimentality in religious belief, emphasizes negligible aspects of faith above those that are paramount, and thus tends to undermine a sane and thorough religious education and discipline. The question is, does it?

Here it ought to be said at once and frankly that a creed, any creed, worthy of being used in a corporate way, as an act of fellowship with the past, with the future, and with

differing degrees of Christian experience in the present, will contain, ought to contain, at least something which may not correspond to the immediate experience of every individual in that fellowship. Is this age the whole of the world? On the contrary it is so small a part of it that what we call a century would make no appreciable bend in the great sweep of the eternal curve. Shall we say that because we do not understand a truth, therefore it is not true? Shall we deny to our children what we happen not to want ourselves? Shall we have a new creed with each succeeding generation? Or shall we have a separate creed for each person in a given generation? Now no one surely ought to say what he does not believe. But neither ought he to deny the privilege of permitting other people to say what they do believe. The Creed, in a word,* "is a corporate and not an individual product." It is "the outcome of an experience that is greater than any individual, the experience of a corporate fellowship in Christ. An individual Christian may very properly approach the Creed with the conviction that it carries with it elements of a religious and Christian experience that may go beyond his own capacity to assimilate. . . . In scientific and political matters we constantly live in reliance on such a wider experience. May not the individual Christian expressing his loyalty to Christ and to the fellowship that comes from Him naturally expect to find in the Creed which is the outcome of that fellowship, elements that go beyond his own experience?" Would it be the kind of a creed that he really needed if it did not? Do we want a creed no higher than our heads? Or higher than our heads are now? Or higher than anybody's head now is? Has not every one of us had the experience of growing into comprehension and affection and use of Christian ideas that once were wholly strange and even forbidding? Bushnell once wrote these words:† "The most fructifying writer I

* Edward S. Drown, "The Apostles' Creed Today," pp. 68, 69.
† "God in Christ," p. 87.

ever read was one in whom I was at first able only to see glimpses or gleams of truth; one whom it required years of study and reflection, of patient suspension and laborious self-questioning, to be able fully to understand; and, indeed, whom I never since have read at all, save in a chapter or two which I glanced over just to see how obvious and clear what before was impossible had now become." And what is the most fructifying creed? One that is immediately and to everyone entirely comprehensible? What everyone can catch off the bat and hold? Or one that does offer a future of study, meditation, patient suspension of judgment and laborious self-questioning?

We come, however, to the center of the difficulty which many feel with respect to using the language of the Creed. Can they use it literally? And if not, can they use it honestly? One needs in this connection to remember the purpose of the Creed. And, whatever its origin, that purpose we know to be the provision for the worshipper of a confession of his personal commitment to God and to Christ. The reader is referred for an able elaboration of this fundamental idea to the discussion of* Dr. Drown and of Dr. Johnston-Ross. The point to be remembered is that the Creed is not so much the definition of philosophy as it is the expression of a Life. "In the definition of philosophy we must change our expression as often as we change our philosophy. But in expressing a Life we may rightly use as our own, expressions which past ages have framed to express a Life which is theirs as well as ours. If this Creed were the definition of a philosophy one might perhaps condemn one who denied the philosophy but continued the phraseology. But since it is the expression of a Life, then no one truly rejects this Creed unless he disowns the Life of which it is perhaps an archaic but certainly a beautiful and a sacred expression. "I [therefore] join," Lyman Abbott has

*Edward S. Drown, "The Apostles' Creed Today," pp. 65-68; G. A. Johnston-Ross, "The God We Trust," pp. 18-19.

written, "in reciting the Apostles' Creed without hesitation. In the cathedral service this Creed is sung, not recited, and this fact justifies my understanding that the Church regards this recital as an act of worship, not as a definition of theology. As in all acts of worship, as in all emotional utterances, the phrases are of necessity inexact, and they interpret differing though not inconsistent conditions of thought and feeling in different worshippers. Worship is feeling, and feeling can never be accurately defined."

We have here the hint of the basis for a justification of the symbolic interpretation of certain articles in the Creed. Against this, a recent writer, Dr. Hocking, has vigorously protested.* "Organized religion," he has declared, "has done itself much injustice by an overindulgence of the antiquarian temper in regard to religious language. . . . Nothing can excuse a willing obscuration of possible literalities by figures of speech, or a veiling of actual issues in the haze of romantic distances. The Church has an infinite concern in metaphysics; and the only persons fit to act as teachers of religion are men who have metaphysical convictions and are capable of 'agonized consciences' over questions of truth and error. If the Church were put to the awkward choice of excommunicating either its heretics or else those priests who are willing to take their creed in a sense primarily historical, psychological, figurative, pragmatic, or diplomatic, it would far better preserve those heretics and purge itself of those priests . . . who wish to flatter it by a Platonic adherence for sentimental or æsthetic gratification—the religious philanderers of the day."

If what Dr. Hocking means in this remarkable paragraph (in which, by the way, the creed is still regarded as pure metaphysics) is that religious language must always be used in what he calls sheer literalness, then I appeal from him to an even profounder intellect and an even more influential religious teacher. I would commend to him and to all who

* *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1918, p. 384.

are inclined to agree with him a reading, a re-reading, of Horace Bushnell's remarkable Dissertation on Language, in his famous volume, "God in Christ." As you will remember, the thesis of that treatise is that all words are symbols, and necessarily inadequate symbols; that it is a profound mistake to accept words not as signs and images but as absolute measures and equivalents of truth; that the higher one goes in human experience, the more inadequate words become to express the reality of which they are but the symbol:

> "My dark and cloudy words, they do but hold
> The truth, as cabinets enclose the gold";

that the language of the Bible, the language of Christian doctrine, as well as the language of the creeds, are full of words which not by their literalities but by what they point to as signs and symbols, seek to express the realities for which they stand; that religion has a natural and a profound alliance with poetry; that all religious language carries in its bosom some flavor of meaning or import derived from all the past generations that have lived in it; that language is rather an instrument of suggestion than of absolute conveyance of thought; that it is incapable of such definite and determinate use as we have supposed it to be in our theological speculations; that there is, in a word, a mystic element in language and also in the views of Christian life and doctrine that follow; that we need the mystic temper to use language aright; that a mystic is one who finds a secret meaning both in words and things back of their common or accepted meaning, some agency of Life or Living Thought hid under the form of words and institutions and historical events; that in opposition to one-sided intellectualism we need mysticism adequately and truly to understand religious realities, which lie at the bottom of the written word,—this is the thesis set up and defended by Dr. Bushnell with surpassing force and eloquence. A comprehension

of this truth makes the priest who prides himself on his literalism the one of whom the Church really needs to purge itself; makes the literalist the real enemy of the truth; makes the man who insists on taking his creed 'literally' the one who truly does it violence; makes the 'literal' interpretation the one which falls short of the truth. Since the Creed is not metaphysics but Life, and since the language of the Creed is a sign to reality and not the adequate and complete expression of it, the spiritual truth enshrined within it is one which must be from age to age spiritually and even mystically discerned. As Bushnell says, it is the absence and not the presence of this mystical temper which has done the real damage to religion. Thus each man is not only warranted, he is compelled to his own interpretation of the common Creed. There will necessarily be as many interpretations as there are interpreters; to every man according to his faith. "Words are feeble indications of spiritual things—yet words forever bubble up as a sign of the movement in the deep waters. Some of these are caught and fixed as standards of suggestion adapted to verbal representations of faith, and become to the Church media of the preservation of faith and tokens of fellowship, but not perfect or magical or final. It is the ecclesiastical language of one age passed on to the next and again passed on, thus taking to itself new meanings without any revision of its actual language. The creed is mystic in essence, conceived in symbolism, imbued with poetry, and it is practically and equivalently rather than mathematically and verbally adequate." Thus the phrase "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary" *does* 'mean' the virgin birth of Jesus. The question is, is that *all* that it 'means'? Plainly not. If there had not been the larger meaning of the unique soul and nature of Christ, there never would have been any mention of His unique birth. The latter is the sign or symbol of the former; and with utter consistency one may use words for what they imply or include, as well as for what they in black

and white express. This is not evading the physiological reference; it is tracing it to its roots, giving it its religious value. Similarly the phrase "He descended into hell" says or 'means' more than that in the belief of early thinkers or writers Christ visibly descended into the place of departed spirits. It 'meant' more than that when the words were first used. It 'meant' that for our sakes Christ descended to the lowest depths of our humiliation. It 'meant' that a soul cannot sink so low that Christ will not be found beneath him. It 'meant' that redemption reaches to the nethermost moral depths of human degradation. And it 'means' that today.* The creed, it must be repeated, "has its importance for the Christian life not because it expresses accuracy of theological statement, but because it expresses a living faith in Jesus Christ and in the revelation of God that comes through Him. To approach it as a matter of intellectual statement is radically to misinterpret the historic character of the creed, and radically to misunderstand its value for us today." What does the phrase "the resurrection of the body" 'mean'? Even for those to whom it 'meant' the resurrection of the flesh, it 'meant' also more than that. It 'meant' what St. Paul 'meant' by a heavenly body. It 'meant' what we 'mean' by the preservation of personality, the survival of identity, the fact of recognition; the opposite, that is, of vague, impersonal and unrecognizable soul that makes personal immortality such a pale, flaccid, colorless and even forbidding fact. The word "body" gives *body* to the idea of personal survival, and lends it the one thing needful, the essentially Christian idea of the possession after death of the distinctive and recognizable characteristics of personality. This is not to toy with language; it is to know how to use language that admittedly is neither philosophically or mathematically exact. The creed, in a word,

*W. E. Orchard, "The Outlook for Religion," p. 107. "No hell into which a man may fall places him beyond the compassion and power of that tireless, unflinching love."

is a Catholic sign, not a theological trap. "You are not to pick out with pinchers of the inquisition a clause here and there; to hold it up before some cleric or priest, to exact from him some straight conventional assent, or, if he fails, pin him to the wall and say, 'Now we have you.'" We may with perfect sincerity repeat the Creed with its implications of mystery and miracle as the essence for Christian belief as a body, rather than as the scientific expression of an individual present opinion. Thus one possesses continuity in every age, and in so doing one worships "in truth."

From this point of view, the rejection of the Creed from the worship of the Churches points to an outstanding and even fatal weakness for which an immediate corrective is needed. Too many Churches are intellectually one-sided. They lack historical perspective, any bond of union with the past; they lack the mystical temper which is of the very essence of religion and in search of which multitudes have gone wandering in the fields of theosophy, thought-culture, oriental mysteries, and the debilitating idiosyncrasies of Eddyism. Why is it, Dr. Orchard has asked, that the Churches* "have not only divided the Body of Christ, but have also divided the soul of man? If one sets out in this modern world to find a Church which shall provide real spiritual fellowship, one soon discovers that in every Church that exists we can have freedom *or* authority, mysticism *or* rationalism, the supernatural *or* the natural, liturgical *or* free prayer, . . . a worship dominated by awe *or* a public meeting; whereas a human being wants all these things at one time or another. But no, I must take my choice. If I have one, I cannot have the other; I must join a denomination which feeds only half my nature and denies that the other exists, find my fellowship with people that have only one eye, make the rest of my spiritual pilgrimage on one leg." Who can doubt what the other half nature, the other eye, the other leg, of our intellectualized, rational, modern-

*W. E. Orchard, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

ized and wholly down-to-date Churches and Church services really is? For a recovery of this mystical temper and appeal, for a reintroduction into the service of the Church of this note which makes itself felt in a realm beneath that of mind or intellect, no means lies so ready to hand or proves so effective as the use of the ancient Creeds. The batteries of a scientific criticism may riddle them, but no criticism can detract from their enduring worth so long as they are the universal symbol of a faith which gives to the soul an assurance of a moral universe which justifies noble conduct and excites pure and unselfish emotion. They can be but the symbols and signs of unutterable things. They stand for the mysteries of life which no man can express. We have had put into our hands these ancient symbols which in countless struggles have been the watchword of faith: they are as steeped in religious sentiment as old violins are steeped in harmony. They convey the piety of the ages to the use of each separate human believer; they carry into the mind suggestions that are indefinable. And in the largest possible interpretation of the Church's mission and destiny, these symbols will remain the messengers of the divine spirit to the souls of men. "Most sure am I that no spectacle more sublime, or more truly pleasing to God, will ever be witnessed on earth than if taking up this holy confession, sanctified by the faith and consecrated by the uses of so many ages, all the disciples of Jesus on earth may be heard answering it together, sect to sect, and people to people, and rolling it as a hymn of love and brotherhood round the world."*

* Bushnell, "God in Christ," p. 356.

VI

CONCERNING UNITY

IF there is any one thing for which I have a passion, it is for the unity of the Church in accordance with the mind of Christ. Just what outward form this unity will take I do not know. Part of its wealth and power will consist in its gardenlike variety. There will be no toleration in it, for toleration is not a virtue. Toleration is a phase of arrogance—arrogance clad in garments of humility. The only legitimate toleration is to suffer fools gladly.

In the diversity of Christ's unity, those who differ will each one demand for his brother that liberty which he demands for himself in matters which must be speculative. The effort will be in the direction of mutual, sympathetic understanding and not that of antagonism, controversy and dialectic victory. Life in the Church will not be a mere *modus vivendi* but an interchange and blending of privileges granted by her charter of liberty.

Of course I am speaking only of and for Christians, that is to say, those who unreservedly accept Jesus Christ as God made man. There are doubtless other unities but I am concerned here only with Christian unity. If there are those who choose to group around some other center or person than Christ, God and Man, we have no desire to say them nay or to interfere with their project. Neither have they reason to complain if we refuse to abandon our unifying center in order to include them.

Again, it would not be gain to aim at oneness as an end in itself. Mere oneness would be a sort of saccharine monot-

ony in which differences would not have been reconciled but rather smothered and hidden under a thick coat of sentimentality. Unity, as I understand it, will come as the result of whole-hearted devotion to a common center, a common vision and a common purpose. We do not seek for unity in order to come to Christ, but in coming to Christ we are thereby committed to unity according to His mind, and if we fail to find unity we have missed the way.

Experience has taught me that what is needed for a long time to come is unsuspicious, friendly personal touch between Christian leaders of every opinion, not in order that they may have joint services or force outward ecclesiastical unity, but that they may come to understand one another by the only process that can create mutual understanding. I mean by human fellowship and interchange of living thought for which even friendly books are no substitute. Christian unity, which is a thing of the Spirit and is founded on Christ's twofold law of love, comes first, antedating ecclesiastical unity, in which unity of worship is a necessary climax. It is dangerous to confuse the manufacture of joint services for the sake of their being joint, with unity.

One further thing. It was largely through fiery preaching that the Christian Church was rent. It will have to be by equally fiery preaching that the Church will find her unity. The preacher of today has a unifying opportunity never afforded his forbears of the pulpit.

On my homeward voyage with a gallant Division of the A. E. F., a dinner was given the Commanding General at which the presiding officer asked me to speak. He assigned me a subject. In introducing me he said—he was a Protestant—that we were returning from a land where every town or village had but one spire proclaiming that there was but one Church for all. To the layman that seemed the only Christian state of affairs. On the background of this memory, I was asked to address our soldier citizens on unity in our own land. Many laymen today applaud every move

in the direction of unity, be it intelligent or unintelligent, because they intuitively and rightly feel that a divided Church is not only an economic absurdity but also a fundamental disloyalty to Christ. They recognize that unity is as much an essential of the Church as of the government of the land. It does not need extraordinary powers of perception to reach this conclusion. Moreover, it does not require any argument to convince men intellectually that the chief hindrance to Christianity as a social force is its disunity. We all agree that the *status quo* is lamentable. But when the question of faith and order is broached men make themselves ready to battle. As to faith, it comes first; afterward, the protective order that insures to faith its highest opportunity and its perpetuation. Principles precede the government which embodies them.

Perhaps our earliest duty is to sort out fundamentals from matters of indifference or second value. I come back from war service abroad, where men were unified by a common purpose, to find that, in the churches here, there are battles going on that look to me as important as the controversy which once raged over the number of angels that could stand on the point of a needle. When Christ first came He came to simplify religion and to separate the tithing of anise and cummin from the weightier matters of the law. The process needs repetition now.

So far as practical schemes for the promotion of unity are concerned, it needs a bold and convinced man to condemn any one of them without at the same moment presenting a superior plan. This is so of the proposed concordat between Congregationalists and Episcopalians. It may require modification or even radical change, but, as it stands, it reveals a temper of mind and a mutual understanding seldom exhibited by any considerable group of men.

It is encouraging to find that we are moving away from that form of prejudice which condemns a doctrine or usage because it is embedded in a system with which we are at

odds. There is such a thing as "free Catholicism" which studies such matters on their merits. As a result there are Protestants in faith and order who are deliberately and intelligently appropriating, as part of their belief and worship, doctrines and usages which formerly they would have condemned *ex animo* without giving them a hearing.

What I have written represents conclusions reached after years of honest struggle to see and embrace the truth. I have come to think as a habit not in terms of disunion, but in terms of that unity that is clear to the mind of Christ though but dimly to me, a unity to which I am irrevocably committed and which I pray God I may be permitted to see some day in all its splendor and power.

C. H. Brent.

July 14, 1919.

VII

SOME HISTORICAL MATERIALS FOR PRESENT USES

1. CONFERENCES BETWEEN ROMAN CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

a. THE CONFERENCE AT THORN, 1645

WLADISLAV IV, king of Poland, was reigning in 1643 in fortunate peace while other lands were torn with the conflicts of the thirty years' war. He earnestly desired to make a religious peace also throughout his dominions. For this end he sought through his prelates to gather representatives of the different churches together for conference over their differences. His first attempt having failed in 1643, he issued later himself a royal invitation for such a conference at Thorn. In response to his letter deputations representing Catholics, Lutherans, and Reformed met together at Thorn in the year 1645. Full reports of their sessions and discussions have been preserved. They contain much that is interesting and good reading also for present occasions. We give only the following summary account of some things said and done there.

The King, in his letter of invitation to the conference, after referring to the devastations caused by the war, wrote:

We may now turn our eyes from the pleasantness of temporal peace to the inner peace of minds, which the divine love works, and in which the honor of God, the salvation of

souls, and the honor of the name of Christians consists. . . . It is now generally known that the bloody hate of Christendom, for the amelioration of which human wisdom can discover no means, which daily grows worse and worse, flows from no other source than the disunity of religion.

As a means for the attainment of religious peace he thought that personal conference was desirable rather than learned writings, for, he said, "nature has given to mortals no more precious gift than living speech, wherein mouth to mouth and voice to voice respond, and, if words fail, the quiet reading in the eye and upon the forehead of another the truth of his perceptions and the honorableness of his feelings can be discerned."

From the address of the King's Commissioner at the opening of this conference, these extracts are pertinent to any discussions of Church unity.

"The first thing which we deem especially important is a mutual *liquidation* of the conflicting church usages, since we have well learned that the chief cause of lamentable fallings apart is to be found in mutual misunderstandings. For first we have not to deal with this, whether one or the other party rightly believes, but only what one believes." He urged each side to express its opinions concerning the teachings in question "in brief, simple and clear sentences. . . . It should all be made clear as the noonday what each side really taught, and what was falsely attributed to it as its teaching." He reminded them that throughout his address he had carefully avoided the current word "disputation,"—an example well worthy of our imitation. He observed that "they had learned through the experience of a century that religious controversies are hard to end because there is no one living to act and judge, who can be heard, and in whose decision one may rest." Urging them to free and brotherly discussion he continued: "Only this way to peace stands still open. If we attain nothing in this way, then it must be said that Christ left no means whereby brothers may come back to unity, although they may warmly

desire it; and that would be to affirm what is most preposterous and shameful for the Christian religion, and a grievous offense to Christ, who is king of kings."

It was inauspicious for the results of this conference that the several parties in it could not at the first session come to any agreement as to how they might pray all together. In subsequent sessions each party presented in turn statements of its positions. The conferences became more and more a series of attacks and counterattacks between the advocates of the different positions, the Roman Catholics maintaining that they should not be judged by the alleged consequences of their doctrines, while the Protestants contended that they could not fully declare their beliefs positively without also setting them over against the negations of the other side. The King's hopes of their coming to an agreement gradually ended in disappointment, as the conference drifted upon the shoals and conflicting currents of more superficial discussions concerning their oppositions, each speaker refuting the errors imputed to him by the others. How often since, by their positive Christian affirmations, churchmen might have been united, but by their negations of each other's positions they have been divided. After three months of discussion without reaching agreement, the conference was dissolved by the King's order. The Protestant theologians thanked the Catholic bishops for the genuine humanity which they had shown, while they in turn replied, "As we began it in love, so in love will we end it." So they separated "mutually saying friendly farewell."

b. THE WORK OF SPINOLA, BISHOP OF NEUSTADT

ONE of the peacemakers of the seventeenth century was Christoph Royas von Spinola, a Spaniard by birth, who became in Madrid a general of the Franciscan Order, and afterwards Bishop of Tina, and in 1686, Bishop

of Neustadt. Moved by the lamentable persecutions of the Protestants in Hungary and Silesia he conceived with great earnestness a plan of reconciliation in the distracted lands through mutual conferences between Catholics and Protestants. He sought first to win for this project the support of the Protestant princes and theologians. With this object in view, refusing the prospect of a life of comparative ease and preferment, he started in 1675 on his mission as "an Ambassador of the Peace of the Church." We will not follow the narrative of his efforts and travels, which continued to the day of his death, but there are some things which he did and said that are well worth recalling.

Spinola saw that he must begin his great undertaking with private interviews and personal conferences with those who might be persuaded to work together for the common cause. In the course of his journeyings he went to Hanover, where he hoped to receive some favor, and he found there the Duke and his wife full of earnest hopes for the union. There he met with Molanus, a Lutheran theologian, who had been a pupil of Calixtus, who also was seeking the way of reconciliation. In the seclusion of the Abbey of Loccum, these two, Roman Catholic and Protestant, studied for seven months together the doctrines over which they were divided. As the result of their quiet pursuit with each other of the way of reconciliation, they did not indeed reach a final and complete plan of reunion, but they did succeed in working out a draft of rules to be observed in further prosecution of their endeavor. They went over the different doctrinal teachings concerning which Protestants and Catholics were most divided, seeking for the common elements of belief in them and the points for mutual approximation. While it was impossible that an Ecumenical Council should be called, they hoped that a council sufficiently general might be convened to give adequate expression to those Christian beliefs that should be confessed in common. Such a consummation they thought would not be impossible if

methods of controversial discussions then prevalent should be abandoned, all bitterness and jealousies given up, and disputations about words should cease. The parties, they believed, stood nearer one another than in such controversies it had appeared. They said, "Peace is to be held higher than the Chalice."

After this conference with Molanus, Spinola entered into correspondence with leading Protestant theologians, and he formulated with much care twenty-five irenical propositions, which Leibnitz is authority for saying had been gravely considered and received some private sanction from the Pope. He then travelled hither and thither to carry forward this plan. In 1691 he received a royal patent as General Commissioner in the business of the union, all spiritual and worldly members of Protestant churches were authorized to enter into conference with him, and their authorized deputies to receive every magisterial assistance. Spinola said that the few theologians well disposed to this effort were to be sought out with the Lantern of Diogenes, since things had come to such a pass through mutual fault that only those were accounted to be truly zealous teachers who persecuted most extremely the opposite party; and consequently among a thousand teachers hardly three could be found who would venture to come out openly in behalf of Church peace and its best restoration. He succeeded, however, in finding a considerable number who were privately disposed favorably toward it. They said "they found nothing in his scheme which might not be tolerated and granted in the love of peace and truth."

Spinola, so we are told in the preface of an early account of his endeavors, was "possessed of a character of great sweetness, piety and moderation seldom found among controversialists, especialy in the heat of their disputes."

He maintained throughout his life-long work that the "differences between the Roman Church and the Protestants do not consist in the fundamentals of salvation, but only in

the matters that are added." While he was arranging to bring about a private conference of princes and councillors, in 1693, Prince George, who had supported him, died, and shortly afterwards Spinola also ended his labors, and entered into the peace of the children of God.

c. MOLANUS' PROPOSALS

SUBSEQUENTLY to Molanus' understanding with Spinola, he sent to Bossuet a paper, which was afterwards printed, entitled, "Private Thoughts" concerning reunion. He advanced in it the following sentence as a theorem:

A reunion of the Church of the Protestants with the Roman Catholic is not only possible, but in respect to its temporal and eternal gain it is also so advantageous, it so commends itself to each and all Christians, that every one, wherever opportunity offers, in every place and at any time, should feel under obligation to contribute a mite to it.

He had in mind "a union which might be effected on both sides with an uninjured conscience, and uninjured mutual esteem, and with the uninjured preservation of the distinctive principles and hypotheses of both Churches." He mentioned six requirements which might be granted for the future reconciliation. Among these the fifth relates to ordination.

The Pope might confirm the protestant ordination already consummated, in a fitting and nowise prejudicial manner; while for the future, after the union should be accomplished, the ordination should be bestowed by the Bishop according to the Roman usage, whereby it is expressly to be noted that we would consent to the confirmation of our ordination solely for the sake of the Catholics in the event of the union, so that no weak one among them could doubt the efficacy of the sacraments offered from us to them.

Molanus proceeds to indicate a method which might be followed for the accomplishment of such union; he would have first a private conference of those who are disposed to it, and he specifies with much care the character and standing of the representatives of both sides who should be called to it. He then proceeds to divide the questions which they would have to consider into three classes: (1) Those relating to different forms and explanations of expression. (2) Those questions which are in themselves matters of controversy, but with regard to which in every church assent or dissent may be tolerated. (3) To the third class belong such controverted questions between Protestants and Catholics which neither through verbal explanations nor through accommodation can be determined, since here decided oppositions occur. These latter questions Molanus, like others in those times who sought for reconciliation, would leave to be referred to a future general council. He was careful, however, to define how such a council should be constituted; equal votes were to be given, and the same recognition to both parties, and the Protestant Superintendents were each and all to be validated and recognized as actual bishops, who together with the Roman bishops should be invited to the General Council, and have equal standing and voice. He adds further conditions concerning the Scriptures as the ground and norm of the Council, agreement with the ancient Church according to the first five centuries; the doctors may discuss, but the bishops only may decide; and each side is to be under obligations to abide by its decisions as they may be declared in canons, or else to be subject to its penalties.

Molanus enters into an elaborate discussion of the chief points of doctrinal divergence, endeavoring to show how they may prove capable of being harmonized sufficiently for the unity to be effected; but into this doctrinal discussion we need not follow him.

The conception which Molanus had in mind has been rightly described in these words:

To express it after the manner of our time he thought of the papacy as a wisely limited constitutional monarchy or a Church constitutional League, in which the whole should be firmly held together in mutual peace, while to the individual provinces a proper freedom should be granted for their inner administration (Hering, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 223).

d. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MOLANUS, LEIBNITZ AND BOSSUET, 1692-1701

LEIBNITZ, who had become interested in the views of Molanus, sent a copy of Molanus' "Private Thoughts" to Bossuet, commending them to his consideration. This was the beginning of an extensive correspondence between the chief philosopher of the age and the great Roman prelate and famed orator, in which the whole field of controversy between the Protestants and Roman Catholics was thoroughly traversed, and in the course of which, as participants or as interested spectators, princes and princesses, theologians and courtiers, the Emperor Leopold, the King of France, and two Popes, Innocent XI and his successor, were concerned. Some of the most notable women, also, of that time became so deeply interested in it that it is related of them that they did not find the long epistles of learned scholars and divines dry reading. One of them, Madame de Brinon, was particularly engaged in this correspondence, for much of it passed through her hands, and, when it was delayed or interrupted, she was indefatigable in her efforts to bring the negotiations to some more satisfactory issue. A French Catholic, Pellison, who had become engaged in the correspondence, wrote of her to Leibnitz, "Madame Brinon finds fault with me on your account. She says, and I believe she is right, that we think of nothing else but your dynamics, and not at all of your conversion, which is the one object of her desire, as of mine."

This exceedingly interesting episode of church history

has received but passing notice from the writers of general history, as indeed it would require a volume to do full justice to its discussion. As it marks the close of repeated attempts to reconcile the two great bodies of Christendom, the Roman and the Protestant, the study of this prolonged correspondence may furnish useful precedents to indicate what may be attempted and what avoided in future efforts to attain a living Christian understanding between these two long estranged communions of the one people of God. We can only allude to some suggestive points in this prolonged correspondence.

One relates to the method of discussions, the object of which is not so much to change different opinions as it is to reconcile them. Leibnitz wrote to Madame de Brinon:

"In important matters I like reasoning to be clear and brief, with no beauty or ornament—such reasoning as accountants and surveyors use in treating of lines and curves." Of his correspondents on the other side he wrote: "The force and beauty of their expressions charm me so far as to rob me of my judgment; but when I come to examine the reasoning as a logician and a calculator, it escapes my grasp."

A second noticeable point is a difficulty which Bossuet, the eloquent orator, may have felt more deeply than Leibnitz, the logical reasoner. Bossuet wrote that he could not conceal from Leibnitz "one great difficulty that many Protestants under the beautiful cloak of the simplicity of the Christian teachings would remove all mysteries and bring religion back to common truths." Here we meet again the psychological differences which unconsciously often stand in the way of a happier solution of what we are so content to speak of as "our unhappy divisions." One who has no mystic sense of communing through nature with something diviner than is seen—who never amid the silences of nature listens as though nature were about to speak of things unutterable—one whose beliefs must be as defined as fields

are by their fences, while anything undefined on the far mystic horizon of knowledge is to be regarded with mistrust,—he cannot understand the symbolism of faith, and may too readily judge the Catholic worship to be an inheritance of superstition, and to fear as idolatrous forms and modes of worship in which devout souls have felt themselves to be in the presence of God.

Not only the logical understanding but also the spiritual imagination are both good gifts of God, and to reject either one from the service of His church is to cease to be truly Catholic-minded.

A third point to be noticed is that the entire discussion revolved around the question of the decrees of the Council of Trent. That indeed was the rock of offence on which all these movements and hopes of reconciliation during the seventeenth century were broken. To that as a general council or a final judgment the Protestants could not submit. It is likewise noteworthy that the argument which Bossuet used against those who denied its authority might be turned with equal point and poignancy upon the pseudo-Catholicism of those who would make the councils of the ancient undivided Church the supreme court of last resort for all churches now.

"If," so Bossuet argues, "the Protestants agree concerning Tradition so far as this, that through it only the sense of the Holy Scriptures can be made intelligible, then there would be scarcely any difficulty left over. But if the learned writer exalts so high the agreement of the ancient Church of the first five centuries, and the five general Synods, so I ask him, above all, whether Christ has promised only through five centuries and by five general Councils to be among his own?"

This leads directly to another characteristic of this famous seventeenth-century discussion, one which was a chief cause of its failure; viz., each side appealed to a different seat of authority, while neither of them appealed directly and above

all to the living authority of the Spirit abiding in the Church to lead it into the truth. Whether they thought the authority was to be found in the letter of the Scriptures, or in Tradition, or in General Councils, or in St. Peter's line of succession, it was an externalized authority, not the witness of the Spirit from the beginning given to, and teaching through the whole progressive life and faith of the Church. It was not a judgment of the Christian experience of God with us in Christ, to which alike they might make final appeal. Leibnitz, very much like Erasmus, was ready to submit to another Council, if a truly general one should be called; Bossuet had submitted to the Council of Trent, and would go to no other; Luther had appealed directly to Christ through the Scriptures and to the soul's experience of His grace. The Infallibility does not reside in the existing Church at any one time; the voice of the whole Church of all the ages declares the truth of the Incarnation, which each successive age knows in part. That is the true Light which lighteth every man coming into the world. The Life is the light of the Church. Wherever it shines it is its own evidence.

This correspondence, which had been soon broken off, was resumed by Leibnitz in 1699, an occasion for it having been offered. But it had been assuming a more controversial tone, and its failure was becoming apparent. It ended without agreement in 1701. Bossuet's biographer, Cardinal Bausset "cannot understand why all these negotiations, which had opened so hopefully, and in which so much talent and goodness had been engaged, came, as by some fatality to no results." A later editor of this correspondence said that "the union had failed through the fault of men and things." Leibnitz himself said it had failed because of "reigning passions." When disappointed in all these efforts, Leibnitz wrote to one of his friends, "I too have labored hard to settle religious controversies, but I soon discovered that reconciling doctrines was a vain work. Then I planned

a kind of truce of God, and I brought in the idea of toleration, which had already been suggested in the peace of Westphalia." In one of his letters he had written to Bossuet that instead of insisting on the decrees of the Council of Trent it would be better "to agree upon another method,—which in some measure resembles that of the geometrician, and that takes nothing for granted except that which the opposer in fact admits, or which one may regard as established by a fundamental proof." But at last when all his reasonings had failed, Leibnitz wrote, "I believe an overture from the heart is necessary to advance these good designs." That is the Christian court of last resort.

2. MOVEMENTS FOR REUNION OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES

a. THE PEACE-MAKING TRAVELS OF JOHN DURY

AMONG the chief apostles of reconciliation of the seventeenth century was one who described his mission in these words, "Having first dealt with my own side and gotten their consent unto this aim, I have offered myself unto the rest as a Solicitor of the Councils of Peace, and a Servant of the Communion of Saints in this matter." In the preface of a book of his entitled, "A Model of Church Government," he speaks of himself as "John Dury who hath traveled hitherto in the work of peace among the churches." A brief narration, as he calls it, condensed from his diary of his journeyings to and fro, shows how indefatigably he had labored during the years 1631-33 throughout Germany on his mission of peacemaking among the divided churches of the Reformation. These travels from England to the continent, all over Europe, and back to England again, in the unwearied and never despairing pursuit of the object to which he had early devoted his life, never ceased until after

fifty years of devoted labors he found a final resting place in Cassel; where, though no longer able to continue his journeyings, he continued his endeavors by writing letters to the Universities and to men of eminence in behalf of the union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches.* His numerous writings contain many passages which with but slight changes might be published as tracts for the present times.

He was ministering humbly to a company of merchants in Elburg, Prussia, when the call came to him to become a missionary of peace throughout the Protestant kingdoms. It is interesting to note that the call to this life work came to him first from a layman, possibly from the king of Sweden. Dury thus describes it:

> The first inducement which bound my conscience was the call which I had to think upon the same, which I could not but answer, except I should have been wanting to my duty in the ministry of the Gospel. Therefore as I was provoked to think upon the Object of Faith and Truth I thought others would be moved in like manner to do the same. . . . The second inducement was the necessity of the times to heal the breaches of the Protestant Churches which we are all bound to pray for, and I in my simplicity did think what I am bound to sue for unto Almighty God I ought also to use my best endeavors, so far as God doth enable me, to promote.

This quotation contains an application of the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints to which in the prosecution of the duty of Church unity we may well take heed:

> I came to this resolution that I made a Vow of perseverance in the Worke, whether I perceived any reasonable furtherance of the Worke or no, in respect that I conceived it to be a necessary Duty, when the event did depend on God's special Providence.

The spirit in which he pursued this life-long mission of

*A sketch of his life is to be found in the *Constructive Review*, June, 1914, by Newman Smyth.

reconciliation shines forth from this passage which he wrote a few years later:

As for myself my whole work is to judge of mine own ways how to keep them pure and without offense towards all, how to hold forth the Word of life, and thereby to stir up every one to follow peace and reconcile differences, which are destructive of Church and State, in a Gospel way, chiefly when God doth open a door of opportunity unto me, and this is all that I am to meddle with in my place and calling, and as I hope without human respects and worldly ends never to be wanting to this, so beyond this line no consideration, no man nor thing, God willing, shall ever draw me.

In order that he might represent the Anglican Church as well as the Presbyterian he had received additional Episcopal ordination in the cathedral of Exeter in 1634 without thereby renouncing his previous ordination, and with the imposition of hands of several presbyters together with that of the bishop himself.

One frequently comes across in Dury's writings graphic descriptions of the evils of the divided state of Protestantism; the following is a specimen:

We stand as a tall man distracted in his thoughts, and divided in all his resolutions; who hath no command or little use of his members, because they are all out of joint, and hang, as it were, loose one from another. Thus the Church, the tallest of any Reformed in Europe, and fit to be leader of the rest in the spiritual conquest of Canaan doth stand within itself and to others useless.

But Dury even amid his ever recurring disappointments never became a pessimistic deplorer of existing evils, or a self-opinionated, destructive agitator; above all he was a constructive Church statesman. He held himself up to this clear note: "The true way of advancing Christianity is not destructive, but edification."

His method of overcoming the dissensions of the churches

is worthy of our study and imitation. Primarily it was a personal method. He is always seeking out individuals who may promote his cause. He spared no effort or travel to find the right men who might prove helpful. He would gain the few here and there that they might reach the many. Then he adopted and pursued to the end what he called the way of "amiable conferences." He would have nothing to do, however, with what he regarded as conferences for scholastic disputations. He writes:

Except I can perceive the conference to be intended towards the use of edifying, I shall not meddle with it. That I may not be mistaken that what is intended concerns the use of edifying, I take the measure of my own and other men's aims by two Rules: the first is, if either the matter itself is not fit to manifest some part of God's glory, or if the aim of those that handle it is not set professedly to show forth that part of the glory which the matter offers; then I conclude that the handling of it is not intended to edification. The second thing is, that if the matter and handling of it is to the end of the commandment which is charity, then I conclude that it is intended for edification, because charity doth edify.

He laid down several rules for the conduct of such conferences. They are an excellent combination of logic and charity. He would have "an orderly way of proceeding in all doubtful matters to find the decision thereof." He deprecated the "confusions which hitherto by confused means of agitaton have been unavoidable." In current religious discussions, and especially through the papers, this observation is very much to the point:

Nor is there anything that doth more intangle and increase the multiplication of needless Debates, than the mistake of the points of difference either wilfully or ignorantly entertained, By this means Satan doth enable and engage men's spirits to make their contentions inextricable, endless, and irreconcilable; for when the question is not distinctly

stated, the men are entered upon controversy, they will rather alter the point of debate twenty times, than seem to be found in error once.

He was too intent upon the one aim of unity to be drawn aside by any minor differences. Matters more essential he would seek to reconcile "by a fundamental confession of faith, and of duties requisite unto salvation, which might be common to all, and openly professed as the sum and substance of religion and badge of our fraternal union." He sought also "a common and infallible rule of interpreting the Holy Scriptures." He was, however, to some extent advanced beyond his age, for his love for unity had led him to deprecate the habit of maintaining systems of doctrine and forms of Church government by means of isolated passages or meanings of particular words of Scripture.

He elaborated a plan for a conference on unity which anticipated, by over two centuries and a half, our plans for a proposed World Conference on Faith and Order. We give it, slightly abbreviated, from his "Way to heal our present distempers."

Let all parties who take the Holy Scriptures for their Rule of Faith and Practice, set forth positively and declare plainly, either what they judge to be fundamental in Matter of Doctrine and Practice, or clearly commanded for Edification, or that in which they profess a full agreement with their Brethren, Then, First, let the parties by some of their selected men (who shall do all things with their consent and knowledge) make a Draught of the full agreement of these former Declarations, and that being imparted unto all an Acknowledgment be made concerning it in that whereunto they all have attained, and wherein they mind the same thing to edify one another in the Truth whereunto they are come. Secondly, let the same parties declare negatively the things wherein they conceive they disagree from each other. And when these Declarations are drawn up, let those who have perused them add their advice concerning the Ways of reconciling Differences, and then let some selected

men, the most Moderate of each Party, be called together to set down the joint agreement of their Advices concerning the way of reconciling Differences, and according to that Agreement, let them make a trial of reconciling the Differences, and Offer it to all only as an Essay without prejudice to any, to be considered. Thirdly, Let the same Parties declare both positively and negatively the Rules by which they are willing to walk inoffensibly towards those with whom they do not agree, and in case any offense be given or taken, How the same ought to be taken away by mutual consent. Here then the same selected men, or others, may set awork to peruse such Declarations, and gather into one Body the Rules whereunto all sides will agree to walk to avoid offenses.

As a means of overcoming ecclesiastical and dogmatic separations Dury sought to turn men's thoughts to "practical divinity." He brought back to England a letter signed by several German divines urging the British divines, as eminently fitted for the task, to prepare "a full Body of Practical Divinity." The Church too often has been tempted to make logic greater than love; it was Dury's ever repeated message that if men, and especially the ministry of the Church, should seek first to practice love, the divisions that imperilled Protestantism might be dried up at the source. He had observed the dissensions that spring from ministers preaching "particular things" too much, and "over-shooting themselves" in their zeal for special parties; he would stir up the ministry to preach rather "the main things which discover the life and the spiritual estate of Christ as the Truth is in Him." He had learned to see things in their large relations and their lasting values; he saw, as he expressed it, "the nature and property of the Work itself as it hath place in the kingdom of God." "This conviction," he says, "grew upon me, when I had been a certain space in action." He had noticed among scholars that "the smallest differences of opinions beget ordinarily the extremest differences of affection." He pointed out a common fault

of human nature even among religious people in this observation: "Great disputes fall out from small matters, whence schisms and separations at last arise in the Church."

Dury urged certain rules for "a Professor of Christianity in entering into a Debate, . . . He was to consider the Worth of the Subject and the End of Edification." Besides this, he would emphasize first "how to state the question rightly." As long ago as 1660 this ambassador of the peace of the churches would have nothing to do with partisan names. He proposed that the names which had then become current, such as presbyterial, prelatical, congregational and others should be abolished as distinctive of the churches, and that they should be known simply as the Reformed Christians of England, Scotland, France and Germany. He had at heart "the common cause of Protestantism." What he meant by that for his age he describes as follows: "(1) The Interest of Scripture Knowledge. (2) Of the Life of the Spirit. (3) Of orderly Walking in all God's Ordinances Natural and Spiritual. (4) Of the Communion of the Churches in reference to mutual Edification in the forenamed matters." For us now after the war it is no longer the common cause of Protestantism but of Christianity itself that is at stake. For the sake of this common cause of Christians throughout the world his warning from that age of the trial as by fire of the Reformation should come to us,—"If the common cause of Protestantism be made anything less than the Propagation of the Light of the Gospel it is foully mistaken."

It may be truly said of Dury that he had "hitched his wagon to a star"; one luminous Christian idea he had followed through the confusions and revolutionary changes of those tumultuous times. He had gone forth in obedience to his heavenly vision in the later period of the Thirty Years' War; he had kept on his single purpose through the Civil War in England, during the period of the Commonwealth, and subsequently in the time of the Restoration. He had

not, however, escaped bitter reproach from many sides. A partisan of the straiter sort, William Prynne, in the time of the Commonwealth had characterized him as "the time-serving Proteous and ambi-dexterous divine"; to which Dury replied that he was "the unchanged, constant and simple-minded Peacemaker." His stedfast pursuit of his one aim throughout all changes and failures, is evidence of the possibility of living at any time by Christian principles which shall stand the test of all times. This "traveler in the way of love," as he once described himself, had passed beyond the plain of crowded, conflicting interests, above the habitable foothills of toleration, and gained from loftier height the vision of one people and Church of God, who is over all. After a long life of over fifty years of unceasing labors in his old age, Dury's travels were ended, yet in his retirement he continued to correspond with men of eminence in behalf of the union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. But he seemed to have sown the good seed among the theologians on stony ground. Shall we say that he had failed? Midway in his career, when some of his labors had come to naught, he said, "although there is not much appearing outwardly yet some grounds are laid which I am confident the gates of Hell shall not prevail against." Shall we say that such a life was wasted? He had kept the vow of his youth. Through wars in the world, and amid strife of tongues in the Church, he had walked in "the way of doing all things in love"; for he saw a better country, and he died in faith, not having received the promises, but having greeted them from afar. He being dead, yet speaketh; and not he alone. In every generation since there have been those who have sought the peace of the churches and pursued it. It is not for us to say that these have spent their strength for naught; for their labors are our heritage; their prayers our promises; the fruits of their devotion are within reach of our hands; the harvest of their sowing is already ripe for our generation to reap.

b. CONFERENCES FOR REUNION OF THE CHURCHES IN ENGLAND

1. Archbishop Cranmer's proposal for a Synod. In 1552 Cranmer wrote to Calvin urging that a synod be convened of "learned and godly men, who are eminent for erudition and judgment, who might meet together and compareing their respective opinions might handle all the heads of doctrine and hand down to posterity, under the weight of their judgment, some work not only upon the subjects themselves, but upon the forms of expressing them." He mentioned particularly "how exceedingly the church of God had been injured by dissentions and varieties of opinions respecting the sacrament of unity." To this letter Calvin earnestly assented, deeming Cranmer's opinion just and wise that "in the present disordered condition of the Church no remedy can be devised more suitable than if a general meeting were held of the devout and the prudent, of those properly educated in the school of God, and of those who are confessedly at one on the doctrine of holiness. . . . Thus it is that the members of the Church being severed, the body lies bleeding. So much does this concern me, that, could I be of any service, I would not grudge to cross over ten seas, if need were, on account of it" (Calvin's Letters, Bonnet's Ed., v., ii., p. 345). This project, on the death of King Edward, who favored it, fell through. Calvin's controlling aim, however, as appears from this letter, was to preserve the unity of the faith from being destroyed by the dissensions of men. It was not the unity of the Church itself so much as the agreement in handing down to posterity the true doctrine of Scripture, that he had, above all, in mind.

2. At a conference concerning the relations of the Anglican Church with the Roman Catholics, which was held in the year 1575 in Westminster Abbey, the Anglican bishops protested that it was not for them to prove the Church's

doctrine to be true; they professed the old established form of Christendom; if it were attacked, they were ready to answer objections. So the case was foreclosed from the beginning. As Froude remarks, "they were but actors in a play of which the finale was already arranged" (History of England, vol. vii., p. 75).

3. The Hampton Court Conference in 1604 needs only to be mentioned. It left the relations between the bishops and the Presbyterians even more embittered than it was before. The last words of the king, as he passed out of the room, were, "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse."

4. Another less known conference was held in London in 1641, consisting of ten bishops, ten earls, and ten barons, appointed by the Lords, and presided over by Bishop Williams, of whom this much may be said in his favor, that he was held in disfavor by Laud. There were several men of moderation in this committee, but besides proposing several changes of a conciliatory nature, they accomplished nothing; it was only a half-hearted effort for reform.

5. Archbishop Usher's "Reduction of Episcopacy unto the form of Synodical Government received in the ancient Church." This proposal of Usher received much favor from the Puritans for some time afterwards, and moderate Churchmen were not unwilling to accept it, but the bishops were not disposed to regard such suggestions, and the Puritans in their hour of dominance were not inclined to compromise. Again its failure of adoption leaves us to speculate as to what might have been. Now this Reduction of Episcopacy to a Synodical form, which failed then, returns for suggestive reconsideration in connection with the pending formulation of plans for some method of organic reunion which were inaugurated by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in May, 1919. Usher wrote concerning it:

True it is that in our Church this kind of presbyterial government hath been long disused. And how easily this

ancient form of government by the united suffrages of the clergy might be revived again, and with what little show of alteration the synodical convocation of the parties of every parish might be accorded with the presidency of the bishops of each diocese and province, the indifferent reader may quickly perceive by the perusal of the following proposals. (Works, vol. xii., p. 527.)

It may best serve our present purpose to quote an excellent summary of those proposals in comparison with existing Presbyterian usages, which is given in a recent volume on "Episcopacy and Unity," by H. A. Wilson (p. 147).

The idea of Usher's "Reduction" was to combine the essential features of Presbyterian discipline with a modification and extension of the episcopate. Churchwardens and sidesmen were to fill the post of Presbyterian lay-elders, and to make their voices heard in the organization and discipline of the parish. The clergy were to assist in the direction of the affairs of the diocese, and so the *bête noire* of Puritanism, episcopal autocracy, would be at least moderated. In every parish the rector or incumbent, with churchwardens and sidesmen, were to meet at short intervals for the settlement of parish affairs and discipline—this was to answer to the Presbyterian Kirk-session. In each rural-deanery a suffragan bishop was to be placed, and he was to assemble at frequent intervals all the clergy and lay-officials of his district to deal with the business which should arise—this was to be the equivalent of the Presbytery. A diocesan synod should meet each half-year presided over by the "bishop or superintendent (call him whether you will), answering to the Presbyterian Provincial Synod. Lastly, all the bishops and clergy of a province were to meet every third year with the primate presiding, who "might be the moderator of this meeting"; this was to answer to the General Assembly of the Kirk.

6. The Savoy Conference, so called from the old palace in which it was held in 1661, ended in the disappointment

of the hopes of the Presbyterians, and in 1662, the Act of Uniformity was passed. The separation, as of a great gulf, fixed by that act, remains to this day. Towards each other the Established Church of England and the Nonconformists are in a state of schism. A recent Anglican writer says of the Hampton Conference, it was "a deplorable example of a lost opportunity." Of the repeated endeavors of Baxter and others during this period to find some measure of agreement with the bishops a historian of the "Ecclesiastical History of England," has observed:

> An opportunity had arisen in the history of the Church of England for healing a wound which had been bleeding ever since the Reformation. A moment had arrived, calling upon the two great parties, into which that Church had been so long divided, to look at differences in the light of wisdom and charity. But the history of mankind presents so many misapproved conjunctions of circumstances, that students of the past become familiar with lost opportunities. (Stoughton, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 107.)

When looked at as merely differences of opinions concerning vestments, forms of worship, or theological dogmas, these failures to find some common ground of Christian fellowship seem to mark a period in English history of unpardonable oppressions, mutual uncharitableness, and disastrous loss to the Church. When viewed in their larger relations to political history and as moments in the progressive development of the Church in its struggle for free existence amid the then existing conditions, these repeated efforts, and their seeming failure, take on a different and prophetic aspect; they bear witness to the Life, in the Church, itself incorruptible, through losses gathering strength, and coming forth from a period of disappointed hopes to a new age of fulfilment. From our biological point of view, in accordance with analogies of nature, the ways of providence in this prolonged struggle of the Spirit of Life, in which is liberty,

through this whole period of English history, receive their explanation and their justification.

7. In the year 1659 Stillingfleet published his remarkable "Irenicum or Weapon-Salve for the Wounds of the Church." In 1674, Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop, together with Stillingfleet, held a conference with several Nonconformist divines in London. But they were frowned on by most of the bishops and aspersed by their clerical brethren. Subsequently two other similar efforts were made, in one of which it was proposed that those having presbyterial orders should receive further episcopal ordination in these words, "Take thou legal authority to preach the word, and administer the sacraments in any congregation of the Church of England, where thou shalt be appointed thereto." When these negotiations became known the cry was raised that the Church was in danger. Parliament passed what Bishop Burnett called "a very extraordinary vote that no bill to that purpose should be received" ("History of My Own Time," p. 176). Tillotson, however, did not give up his irenical endeavors. In 1689, under the more favorable conditions upon the accession of King William, he entered upon a larger, more determined scheme of comprehension. He prepared a paper, so his biographer tells us, in which he enumerated "concessions which will probably be made by the Church of England for the union of Protestants." Among these it was proposed that in the future ordinations should be made by the bishops; that those already ordained by presbyters should not be required to renounce their previous ordination, but that they should receive conditional ordination from the Bishop in this or some like form, "If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee," etc. This plan was finally rejected by the lower house of Convocation, and Parliament passed the Act of Toleration, and that of comprehension disappeared.

In a diary referring to it there is found this lament over its failure:

What a deplorable case we are reduced to that so many attempts for reformation (comprehension) have been unsuccessful, particularly that most famous in the beginning of the late reign, 1689, when so many incomparable persons of primitive candor and piety were concerned therein, of which my Lord Archbishop of York has spoke to me with deep concern; for which disappointment all good Christians have the deeper cause to sorrow, because we are positively told that in all probability it would have brought in two-thirds of the Dissenters in England. Lord send us Thy Holy and Peaceable Spirit to influence the hearts of such as have power in their hands to heal our piteous breaches in Thy due time? (Ralph Thoresby's Diary, cited by Wilson, p. 234.)

VIII

HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS AND OPINIONS

1. CONCERNING ORDINATION BY BISHOPS

QUESTIONS relating to episcopacy and ordination became matters of concern in England when in the earlier years of the Reformation exiles from England began to return and reformers from the continent came over to England. Whether members of the Church of England should commune freely with the Reformed Churches on the continent brought also the question of non-episcopal orders to the front.

In a volume on the "Church of England and Episcopacy," Camon A. J. Mason has collected a series of extracts from Anglican scholars and divines from the earlier Elizabethan period until the so-called Catholic Revival of the nineteenth century. He shows by this catena of passages the trend of Anglican opinions on these questions from the beginning of the Reformation. Two main tendencies are thus indicated, the stricter view of the necessity of episcopacy to the *esse* of the Church, and the more moderate view of those who would concede that episcopal ordination was not in all cases necessary. It is sufficient to cite a few such extracts to indicate the prevalence of the latter opinion.

Archbishop Jewel: "Neither doth the Church of England depend on them (i.e. the bishops), . . . If there were not one, yet would not the whole Church of England have to

flee to Louvain" ("Defense of Apology," Part ii, Ch. v., Div. 1).

Dr. Hammond, chancellor of the diocese of London, wrote to Lord Burleigh in 1588, as follows: "The Bishops of our realm do not (so far as I ever yet heard), nor may not, claim to themselves any other authority than is given them by the statute of the 25th of King Henry VIII, recited the first year of His Majesty's reign, neither is it reasonable they should make other claim, for if it had pleased Her Majesty with the wisdom of the realm to have used no bishops at all, we would not have complained justly of any defect in our Church" (cited by Selbie, English Sects, p. 38).

Archbishop Whitgift was the first of the Elizabethans to maintain against the rising party of the Presbyterians the office of the bishops to ordain; he asserted that "the bishops were appointed as successors to the apostles, especially in certain points of their functions" (Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 29).

Richard Hooker. The moderate views of the judicious Hooker are too well known to require explanation; it is enough to cite these words concerning the power of ordination in the Church:

> The whole body of the Church hath power to alter with general consent and upon necessary occasions, even the positive laws of the Apostles, if there be no command to the contrary and it manifestly appears to her that change of times have clearly taken away the very reason of God's first institution (Book vii., 5, 8). There may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason to allow ordination made without a bishop. . . . Howbeit as the ordinary course is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be in some cases not unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary ways (Book vii., xiv., 11).

Without citing further opinions from the succeeding periods, we note the precedent of ordination *per saltum* in 1610.

James the First, desiring to force episcopacy upon Scot-

land, had three presbyters of Scotland, who had been ordained only by the Presbyterian rite, consecrated as bishops in London. The Bishop of Ely, Dr. Andrewes, on that occasion raised the crucial question that they should first receive episcopal ordination as presbyters. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Bancroft, who was present, maintained, that "thereof there was no necessity, seeing where bishops could not be had, the ordination by presbyters must be esteemed lawful, otherwise that it might be doubted, if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed churches." This applauded to by the other bishops, Ely consented. A slightly variant version was given of what Archbishop Bancroft said, viz., "that there was no necessity of receiving the order of priesthood, but that episcopal ordination might be given without it." This would be ordination *per saltum.* It has become of some importance in present discussions since the last Lambeth Conference of Anglican divines in 1908 declared that "it might be possible to make an approach to reunion on the basis of consecrations to the Episcopate on lines suggested by such precedents as those of 1610."

Moreover the late Bishop of Salisbury, John Wordsworth, after an elaborate study of "Ordination Problems," advocated the course of giving ordination as bishops, in accordance with this precedent, *per saltum,* to Presbyterian ministers; this course would pass over, and involve no questioning as to the validity of their previous ordination as presbyters. Bishop Wordsworth gave several reasons for it such as these:

"The Anglican Communion is competent to dispense with any rules of discipline which do not touch the essentials of ordination as to matter, form, intention, and minister . . . The Gelasian principle of the suspension of ecclesiastical rules in times of necessity is also in its favor." He argues further that "the principle of the *Apostolic Canon* exemplified in the freedom of ordination not only of laymen when

pointed out by a *vox dei,* but of persons endowed with spiritual gifts, without any previous probation, is even more pertinent. For the highest churchmen must recognize in many leading Presbyterian and Nonconformist ministers a remarkable exhibition of the grace of God and a ministry blessed of Him." He urges also that "the course proposed would avoid casting any doubt on the ordination already received, and no doubt exceedingly valued, by the Ministers so consecrated Bishops" (pp. 130-132). In this connection reference may be made also to the view expressed by Professor Briggs in his distinction between the imparting in ordination ministerial authority and ministerial function, or between ministerial character and jurisdiction ("Church Unity," p. 154).

The following precedents for additional Episcopal ordination are noteworthy:

1. The Lutheran theologian Molanus, as we have already observed (p. 118), proposed that for the sake of reunion the Roman bishops should confirm the Lutheran presbyters without in the slightest degree prejudicing their previous ordination.

2. In England in 1582 a Scotch presbyter, John Morrison, applied to Archbishop Grindal for licensure. His request was granted, and license was given in this form which is to be found in Strype's "Life and Acts of Edmund Grindal," pp. 402, 596.

A license to administer holy things throughout the province of Canterbury was granted by Dr. Aubrey (who now executed the office of Vicar General) to one John Morrison, a Scotchman, who had received his Orders in Scotland, according to the way of ordaining Ministers in the reformed Church there. Which license, because it was somewhat unusual, I shall here set down—*Cum tu præfatus Johannes Morrison,* &c. In English thus: "Since you the foresaid John Morrison about five years past, in the town of Garvet in the county of Lothian of the kingdom of Scotland, were admitted and ordained to sacred Orders and the holy

Ministry, by the imposition of hands, according to the laudable form and rite of the reformed Church of Scotland; and since the congregation of that county of Lothian is conformable to the orthodox faith and sincere religion now received in this realm of England, and established by public authority: we therefore, as much as lies in us, and as by right we may, approving and ratifying the form of your ordination and preferment [*præfectionis*] done in such manner aforesaid, grant to you a licence and faculty, with the consent and express command of the most reverend Father in Christ the Lord Edmund by the Divine providence Archbishop of Canterbury, to us signified, that in such Orders by you taken, you may, and have power, in any convenient places in and throughout the whole province of Canterbury, to celebrate divine offices, to minister the Sacraments, &c. as much as in us lies, and we may *de jure,* and as far as the laws of the kingdom do allow, &c." This was granted April 6. The exact copy whereof I have transcribed in the Appendix.

3. The ordination *per saltum* of 1610 already mentioned (p. 140).

4. In 1634 John Dury received additional episcopal ordination, without renouncing his previous presbyterial ordination, in the cathedral of Exeter, in order that he might prosecute better the work to which he had devoted himself of making peace among the Protestant churches for the common cause of Protestantism.

5. Ordination of Presbyterian ministers after the Restoration by Archbishop Bramhall.

When some of his clergy were found to have orders only from Presbyterian classes, the question arose, "Are we not ministers of the gospel?" To this Bramhall replied, "I dispute not the value of your ordination, nor those acts you have exercised by virtue of it." He held that they at that time had come under the law of a national church, and could not have preferment or receive their revenues except in a legal way. Therefore he gave them additional ordina-

tion. In one instance he issued to a Presbyterian minister this letter of orders:

Not destroying his former orders, nor determining their validity or invalidity, but only supplying what the canons of the English Church require, and providing for the peace of the Church that occasion of schism be removed, and the conscience of the faithful be assured that none may either doubt of his ordination or be averse to his presbyterial acts as invalid (Vol. 1, p. xxiv).

6. Leighton, a Scotch presbyter, having been appointed by Charles II Archbishop of Scotland, was ordained deacon and priest, and then consecrated as bishop. Leighton thought that every church might make such rules of ordination as they pleased, and that they might reordain all that came to them from every other church, and that "the reordaining a priest ordained in another church imported no more than that they received him into orders according to their rules and did not infer the annulling the orders he had formerly received ("Burnet's Own Time," Vol. 1, p. 139 sq.).

7. Proposals for additional ordination by John Humphrey and certain Nonconformists in 1678-80. This passage is taken from a pamphlet with this title: "The Healing Paper, or a Katholic Receipt for Union between the Moderate Bishop and sober Nonconformists, June, 1678." It was written by John Humphrey in response to Stillingfleet.

To be reordained to the work of a new charge I am fully persuaded to be lawful. . . . I am one that dare not give way to the making void my ministry for a dozen years before I was ordained by the Bishop, for that were a heinous crime for myself (I think) to do; yet will I be content as to the exercise of my office now to own my authority from him. I was a minister before *in foro Dei & Conscientiæ*. I am made a minister *in foro Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.

Another answer from the same author was made in 1681,

entitled "The Peaceable Design Renewed," from which the following passage is taken:

I apprehend that such men as are most considerate, and intent upon the interest of God, in what they seek, do, or did, look upon either of such bills (i.e. Comprehension and Toleration) as no other than an *English Interim,* preparative to this higher Concord, and Union of the Bishop with the Presbyters, according to the Primitive Pattern mentioned (as soon as more mellow opportunity and well-advised Piety should administer unto such further Perfection) (p. 29). We may understand where the *core* of that *Evil* we call *Schism* is, and that is mainly in the want of that *Love* and that *Care* which the members owe to one another. . . . And it is upon the Plea of the *Greater Duty* that the *Peaceable Design* doth stand (pp. 29, 32).*

2. CONCERNING SACRAMENT AND ORDERS

IN these citations reference has been made to questions concerning the validity of non-episcopal ordination; but underlying these discussions is the more fundamental question of the self-validation of the sacrament. What especially is the grace inherent in the Eucharist? And what are the respective relations of the Church, the sacraments, and the ministerial powers and organs of the Church? In suggesting this more fundamental discussion (which is all that our present limits permit), we begin with the Roman Catholic teaching; for whatever else may be said, that is always to be found logically consistent. A starting point for such reconsideration of this whole divisive matter Protestants may find in this notable but too much overlooked declaration of Pope Leo XIII, in the Bull *Apostolicæ Curiæ* (September 13, 1896).

* Associated with Humphrey was one named Loeb, the others who are said to have held the same views I have not been able to ascertain. These two rare pamphlets are to be found, one in the Yale and the other in the Harvard library.

When one has rightly and seriously made use of the due form and matter requisite for the offering or conferring of a sacrament, he is considered by the fact itself to do what the Church does. On this principle rests the doctrine which holds that to be a true sacrament which is conferred according to the Catholic rite by the ministry of a heretic or an unbaptized person.

In this utterance the Pope was not referring to baptism. The context shows that the two sacraments, that of orders and the Eucharist, were under consideration. Had the word heretic only been used, the statement would merely have referred to the doctrine of the Church which was maintained by Augustine. But the additional word conferred by the ministry of "an unbaptized person" is significant. For an unbaptized person has no orders at all. A Roman Catholic canonist says that this would be understood among Catholics without the need of qualification, in accordance with the Roman teaching concerning the priesthood. It would require an extensive excursus into the scholastic theology to show, as it might be done, how this principle, which is so positively affirmed by the Pope, is not inconsistent with the derivative powers of ministry which are canonically confined to the priesthood. But with that we are not now concerned. It is with this fundamental principle of the inherent sanctity of a sacrament that as Protestants we are concerned. Is it not sound? If so, may it not be for us a reconciling principle? Consider further these two points in the Roman doctrine in relation to this question. (1) The Council of Trent declared:

The Eucharist has this excellent and peculiar thing that the other sacraments have first the power of sanctifying when one uses them, whereas in the Eucharist, before being used there is the Author of sanctity. For the Apostles had not themselves received the Eucharist from the hand of the Lord, when he nevertheless affirmed with truth that to be his own body which he presented (Sess. 13, Ch. iii.).

(2) The priesthood is given in, and its institution is derived from "the institution by Christ of the Holy visible sacrifice of the Eucharist" (Sess. 23, Ch. i.). The several orders of the priesthood are exercised as "suitable to the most well-ordered settlement of the church (Sess. 23, Ch. i.). Manifestly then the Roman doctrine does not make the greater sacrament of the Eucharist in itself dependent upon the lesser sacrament of orders. The point here to be noticed is the sequence of the powers and organs of the Church; viz., before all, first the Church; secondly, the sacraments; thirdly, the powers of ministry; and fourthly, the differentiation of orders. The Anglican dictum is the exact reversal of this sequence, viz., "where no bishop, no true priests ordained; where no priests, no sacraments; where no sacraments, no church."*

This pseudo-catholic sequence involves a double *non sequitur:* (1) It renders the sacrament of the Eucharist dependent upon an order of ministry, which it does not acknowledge to be a sacrament. (2) It puts the first last, and the last first. On the other hand the Roman Catholic sequence is logical, developmental, and historical. The pseudo-catholic principle is from the beginning a principle of limitation; the Roman doctrine is primarily a principle of comprehension.

We raise, therefore, to leave open for fundamental consideration, this inquiry: Is not this doctrine of the validity of a sacrament, as thus broadly affirmed by Rome, a Christian principle? Does it not offer a broad basis for intercommunion among all Protestant churches?

* This dictum was so expressed and controverted by Bishop Croft, in a pamphlet entitled, "The Naked Truth," in 1675. He said, "Wherefore I beseech you be not too positive in this point lest thereby you do not only condemn all the reformed churches, but the scripture and St. Paul also." Quoted by Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

IX

APPENDIX

1. THE LAMBETH QUADRILATERAL

FIRST submitted by the House of Bishops at Chicago, in 1886, and subsequently adopted by the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops in 1888:

1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the revealed Word of God. 2. The Apostles' Creed as the baptismal Symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith. 3. The two Sacraments—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by him. 4. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church.

2. FOR A WORLD CONFERENCE

AT the last Lambeth Conference, in 1908, the Anglican Bishops in an Encyclical Letter declared: "We must consequently desire not compromise, but comprehension, not uniformity but unity." A resolution was adopted by them recommending that "meetings of ministers and laymen of different Christian bodies be held at different centres to promote a cordial mutual understanding." In response to that action the General Conference of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut, at its meeting in November of the same year, appointed a committee to further such conferences, and to report at its next annual meeting concerning

the relations of the different Christian bodies. Pursuant to that resolution an informal preliminary conference of the committee with some leading representatives of the Episcopal Church was held at Hartford, May 5, 1909, at which it is of interest to note that the late Dr. William R. Huntington was present, and gave us what were almost his last words of counsel and courage in his ministry for "The Peace of the Church." As a result of this interchange of views certain methods of approach towards unity were suggested as possible, among them such further mutual action as might be "necessary to render the existing ministry of other churches regular according to the Episcopal order, and possessed of full authorization to minister the sacrament in Episcopal churches."

At the meeting of the National Council of Congregational Churches in 1910, the next after the Lambeth Conference, a resolution was passed by a rising vote in response to the Encyclical of the Anglican bishops containing in part these words: "We on our part would seek, so much as lieth in us, for the unity and peace of the whole household of faith: and forgetting not that our forefathers whose orderly ordained ministry is our inheritance, were not willingly separatists, we would most loyally contribute the precious things of which we as Congregationalists are stewards to the Church of the future; therefore the Council would put on record its appreciation of the spirit and its concurrence in the purpose of this expression of the Lambeth Conference, and voice its earnest hope for closer fellowship with the Episcopal Church in work and worship." The Council appointed a special committee "to consider any overtures that may come to our denomination as a result of these conferences."

By a singular and auspicious coincidence this action of the Congregational Council was received by the Episcopal General Convention, which was then in session, just after it had taken its notable action to appoint a "Joint Commission to arrange for a World Conference on Faith and Order."

APPENDIX

Almost simultaneously the Disciples of Christ had appointed a Commission on Unity, and soon after the Executive Committee of the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System signified their approval. The preparatory work necessary to lay this proposal of a World Conference before Christian communions throughout the world was approaching its conclusion, and plans for convening the World Conference were being considered—and then came the war.

The Episcopal Commission, soon after their appointment, had sent a deputation to England to secure the co-operation of the Church of England. The two archbishops appointed a committee on the World Conference as a result of this visitation. Subsequently the Episcopal and other commissions associated with them sent a deputation of non-episcopal clergymen to England to secure the support of the Nonconformist churches. They received a gracious invitation from the Archbishops' Committee to meet with them—the first conference perhaps that has been held between official representatives of the Church of England and non-episcopal communions since Tillotson's time, two hundred and more years ago. As a further and consequential result of this succession of steps, conferences have since been held at different intervals between the Archbishops' Committee and representatives of the Nonconformist churches; in 1915 they published through a sub-committee the following statement indicating a large measure of substantial agreement and also affording material for further investigation and consideration.

3. FIRST INTERIM STATEMENT OF JOINT ANGLICAN AND NONCONFORMIST COMMITTEE

PART I. A STATEMENT OF AGREEMENT ON MATTERS OF FAITH

WE, who belong to different Christian Communions, and are engaged in the discussion of questions of Faith and Order, desire to affirm our agreement upon certain foundation truths as the basis of a spiritual and rational creed and life for all mankind. We express them as follows:

(1) As Christians we believe that, while there is some knowledge of God to be found among all races of men and some measure of divine grace and help is present to all, a unique, progressive and redemptive revelation of Himself was given by God to the Hebrew people through the agency of inspired prophets, "in many parts and in many manners," and that this revelation reaches its culmination and completeness in One Who is more than a prophet, Who is the Incarnate Son of God, our Saviour and our Lord, Jesus Christ.

(2) This distinctive revelation, accepted as the word of God, is the basis of the life of the Christian Church and is intended to be the formative influence upon the mind and character of the individual believer.

(3) This word of God is contained in the Old and New Testaments and constitutes the permanent spiritual value of the Bible.

(4) The root and centre of this revelation, as intellectually interpreted, consists in a positive and highly distinctive doctrine of God—His nature, character and will. From this doctrine of God follows a certain sequence of doctrines concerning creation, human nature and des-

tiny, sin, individual and racial, redemption through the incarnation of the Son of God and His atoning death and resurrection, the mission and operation of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Trinity, the Church, the last things, and Christian life and duty, individual and social: all these cohere with and follow from this doctrine of God.

(5) Since Christianity offers a historical revelation of God, the coherence and sequence of Christian doctrine involve a necessary synthesis of idea and fact such as is presented to us in the New Testament and in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds: and these Creeds both in their statements of historical fact and in their statements of doctrine affirm essential elements of the Christian faith, as contained in Scripture, which the Church could never abandon without abandoning its basis in the word of God.

(6) We hold that there is no contradiction between the acceptance of the miracles recited in the Creeds and the acceptance of the principle of order in nature as assumed in scientific inquiry, and we hold equally that the acceptance of miracles is not forbidden by the historical evidence candidly and impartially investigated by critical methods.

PART II. A STATEMENT OF AGREEMENT ON MATTERS RELATING TO ORDER

With thankfulness to the Head of the Church for the spirit of unity He has shed abroad in our hearts we go on to express our common conviction on the following matters:

(1) That it is the purpose of our Lord that believers in Him should be, as in the beginning they were, one visible society—His body with many members—which in every age and place should maintain the communion

of saints in the unity of the Spirit and should be capable of a common witness and a common activity.

(2) That our Lord ordained, in addition to the preaching of His Gospel, the Sacraments of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper, as not only declaratory symbols, but also effective channels of His grace and gifts for the salvation and sanctification of men, and that these Sacraments being essentially social ordinances were intended to affirm the obligation of corporate fellowship as well as individual confession of Him.

(3) That our Lord, in addition to the bestowal of the Holy Spirit in a variety of gifts and graces upon the whole Church, also conferred upon it by the self-same Spirit a Ministry of manifold gifts and functions, to maintain the unity and continuity of its witness and work.

PART III. A STATEMENT OF DIFFERENCES IN RELATION TO MATTERS OF ORDER WHICH REQUIRE FURTHER STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Fidelity to our convictions and sincerity in their expression compel us to recognize that there still remain differences in respect of these matters:

(1) As regards the nature of this visible Society, how far it involves uniformity or allows variety in polity, creed and worship.

(2) As regards the Sacraments—the conditions, objective and subjective, in their ministration and reception on which their validity depends.

(3) As regards the Ministry—whether it derives its authority through an episcopal or a presbyteral succession or through the community of believers or by a combination of these.

We desire to report accordingly and we submit:

(1) That this report be made known to the public.

(2) That further enquiry should be directed to examining the implications in the matter agreed, and to the possibility of lessening or removing the differences by explanation.

(Signed)

G. W. Bath: & Well: (*Chairman*).

E. Winton: J. Scott Lidgett.
C. Oxon: J. H. Shakespeare.
W. T. Davison. C. Anderson Scott.
A. E. Garvie. Eugene Stock.

Tissington Tatlow (*Hon. Sec.*).

February, 1916.

4. THE SECOND INTERIM STATEMENT

IN further pursuit of the main purpose, the sub-committee was reappointed and enlarged. After mature and prolonged consideration it is hereby issuing its Second Interim Report under the direction of the Conference as a whole, but on the understanding that the members of the sub-committee alone are to be held responsible for the substance of the document.

In issuing our Second Interim Report we desire to prevent possible misconceptions regarding our intentions. We are engaged, not in formulating any basis of reunion for Christendom, but in preparing for the consideration of such a basis at the projected Conference on Faith and Order. We are exploring the ground in order to discover the ways of approach to the questions to be considered that seem most promising and hopeful. In our first Report we were not attempting to draw up a creed for subscription, but desired to affirm our agreement upon certain foundation truths as

the basis of a spiritual and rational creed and life for all mankind in Christ Jesus the Lord. It was a matter of profound gratitude to God that we found ourselves so far in agreement. No less grateful were we that even as regards matters relating to Order we were able to hold certain common convictions, though in regard to these we were forced to recognize differences of interpretation. We felt deeply, however, that we could not let the matter rest there; but that we must in conference seek to understand one another better, in order to discover if even on the questions on which we seemed to differ most we might not come nearer to one another.

1. In all our discussions we were guided by two convictions from which we could not escape, and would not, even if we could.

It is the purpose of our Lord that believers in Him should be one visible society, and this unity is essential to the purpose of Christ for His Church and for its effective witness and work in the world. The conflict among Christian nations has brought home to us with a greater poignancy the disastrous results of the divisions which prevail among Christians, inasmuch as they have hindered that growth of mutual understanding which it should be the function of the Church to foster, and because a Church which is itself divided cannot speak effectively to a divided world.

The visible unity of believers which answers to our Lord's purpose must have its source and sanction, not in any human arrangements, but in the will of the One Father, manifested in the Son, and effected through the operation of the Spirit; and it must express and maintain the fellowship of His people with one another in Him. Thus the visible unity of the Body of Christ is not adequately expressed in the co-operation of the Christian Churches for moral influence and social service, though such co-operation might with great advantage be carried much further than it is at present; it could only be fully realized through community of worship,

faith, and order, including common participation in the Lord's Supper. This would be quite compatible with a rich diversity in life and worship.

2. In suggesting the conditions under which this visible unity might be realized we desire to set aside for the present the abstract discussion of the origin of the Episcopate historically, or its authority doctrinally; and to secure for that discussion when it comes, as it must come, at the Conference, an atmosphere congenial not to controversy, but to agreement. This can be done only by facing the actual situation in order to discover if any practical proposals could be made that would bring the Episcopal and Non-Episcopal Communions nearer to one another. Further, the proposals are offered not as a basis for immediate action, but for the sympathetic and generous consideration of all Churches.

The first fact which we agree to acknowledge is that the position of Episcopacy in the greater part of Christendom, as the recognized organ of the unity and continuity of the Church, is such that the members of the Episcopal Churches ought not to be expected to abandon it in assenting to any basis of reunion.

The second fact which we agree to acknowledge is that there are a number of Christian Churches not accepting the Episcopal order which have been used by the Holy Spirit in His work of enlightening the world, converting sinners, and perfecting saints. They came into being through reaction from grave abuses in the Church at the time of their origin, and were led in response to fresh apprehensions of divine truth to give expression to certain types of Christian experience, aspiration, and fellowship, and to secure rights of the Christian people which had been neglected or denied.

In view of these facts, if the visible unity so much desired within the Church, and so necessary for the testimony and influence of the Church in the world, is ever to be realized, it is imperative that the Episcopal and Non-Episcopal

Communions shall approach one another, not by the method of human compromise, but in correspondence with God's own way of reconciling differences in Christ Jesus. What we desire to see is not grudging concession, but a willing acceptance for the common enrichment of the united Church of the wealth distinctive of each.

Looking as frankly and as widely as possible at the whole situation, we desire, with a due sense of responsibility, to submit for the serious consideration of all the parts of a divided Christendom what seem to us the necessary conditions of any possibility of reunion:

1. That continuity with the historic Episcopate should be effectively preserved.

2. That in order that the rights and responsibilities of the whole Christian community in the government of the Church may be adequately recognized, the Episcopate should reassume a constitutional form, both as regards the method of the election of the bishop, as by clergy and people, and the method of government after election. It is perhaps necessary that we should call to mind that such was the primitive ideal and practice of Episcopacy and it so remains in many Episcopal Communions today.

3. That acceptance of the fact of Episcopacy, and not any theory as to its character, should be all that is asked for. We think that this may be the more easily taken for granted as the acceptance of any such theory is not now required of ministers of the Church of England. It would no doubt be necessary before any arrangement for corporate reunion could be made to discuss the exact functions which it may be agreed to recognize as belonging to the Episcopate, but we think this can be left to the future.

The acceptance of Episcopacy on these terms should not involve any Christian community in the necessity of disowning its past, but should enable all to maintain the continuity of their witness and influence as heirs and trustees of types of Christian thought, life, and order, not only of

value to themselves but of value to the Church as a whole. Accordingly we hoped and desired that each of these Communions would bring its own distinctive contribution, not only to the common life of the Church, but also to its methods of organization, and that all that is true in the experience and testimony of the uniting Communions would be conserved to the Church. Within such a recovered unity we should agree in claiming that the legitimate freedom of prophetic ministry should be carefully preserved; and in anticipating that many customs and institutions which have been developed in separate communities may be preserved within the larger unity of which they have come to form a part.

We have carefully avoided any discussion of the merits of any polity, or any advocacy of one form in preference to another. All we have attempted is to show how reunion might be brought about, the conditions of the existing Churches, and the convictions held regarding these questions by their members, being what they are. As we are persuaded that it is on these lines and these alone that the subject can be approached with any prospect of any measure of agreement, we do earnestly ask the members of the Churches to which we belong to examine carefully our conclusions and the facts on which they are based, and to give them all the weight that they deserve.

In putting forward these proposals we do so because it must be felt by all good-hearted Christians as an intolerable burden to find themselves permanently separated in respect of religious worship and communion from those in whose characters and lives they recognize the surest evidences of the indwelling Spirit; and because, as becomes increasingly evident, it is only as a body, praying, taking counsel, and acting together, that the Church can hope to appeal to men as the Body of Christ, that is, Christ's visible organ and instrument in the world, in which the Spirit of brotherhood and of love as wide as humanity finds effective expression.

(Signed)

G. W. Bath and Wells: (*Chairman*).
E. Winton:
C. Oxon:
W. T. Davison.
A. E. Garvie.
H. L. Goudge.
J. Scott Lidgett.
W. B. Selbie.
J. H. Shakespeare.
Eugene Stock.
William Temple.
Tissington Tatlow, (*Hon. Sec.*).
H. G. Wood.

March, 1918.

5. PROPOSALS FOR AN APPROACH TOWARD UNITY BY A CONFERENCE OF EPISCOPALIANS AND CONGREGATIONALISTS

THE undersigned, members of the Protestant Episcopal Church and of Congregational Churches, without any official sanction and purely on our private initiative, have conferred with each other, partly by correspondence and partly by meeting, with a view to discover a method by which a practical approach towards making clear and evident the visible unity of believers in our Lord according to His will, might be made. For there can be no question that such is our Lord's will. The Church itself, in the midst of its divisions, bears convincing witness to it. "There is one Body and one Spirit, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism." There has never been, there can never be, more than one Body or one Baptism. On this we are agreed. There is one fellowship of the Baptized, made one by grace, and in every case by the self-same grace. And the unity given and symbolized by Baptism is in its very nature visible.

We are agreed that it is our Lord's purpose that believers in Him should be one visible society. Into such a society, which we recognize as the Holy Catholic Church, they are initiated by Baptism; whereby they are admitted to fellow-

ship with Him and with one another. The unity which is essential to his Church's effective witness and work in the world must express and maintain this fellowship. It cannot be fully realized without community of worship, faith, and order, including common participation in the Lord's Supper. Such unity would be compatible with a rich diversity in life and worship.

We have not discussed the origin of the episcopate historically or its authority doctrinally; but we agree to acknowledge that the recognized position of the episcopate in the greater part of Christendom as the normal nucleus of the Church's ministry and as the organ of the unity and continuity of the Church is such that the members of the episcopal Churches ought not to be expected to abandon it in assenting to any basis of reunion.

We also agree to acknowledge that Christian Churches not accepting the episcopal order have been used by the Holy Spirit in his work of enlightening the world, converting sinners, and perfecting saints. They came into being through reactions from grave abuses in the Church at the time of their origin, and were led in response to fresh apprehensions of divine truth to give expression to certain necessary and permanent types of Christian experience, aspiration and fellowship, and to secure rights of Christian people which had been neglected or denied.

No Christian community is involved in the necessity of disowning its past; but it should bring its own distinctive contribution not only to the common life of the Church, but also to its methods of organization. Many customs and institutions which have been developed in separate communities may be preserved within the larger unity. What we desire to see is not grudging concession, but a willing acceptance of the treasures of each for the common enrichment of the united Church.*

* These sentences are adopted in part from the English *Interim* statement.

To give full effect to these principles in relation to the churches to which we respectively belong requires some form of corporate union between them. We greatly desire such corporate union. We also are conscious of the difficulties in the way of bringing it about, including the necessity for corporate action, even with complete good will on both sides. In this situation we believe that a practical approach toward eventual union may be made by the establishment of intercommunion in particular instances. It is evident to us that corporate union between bodies whose members have become so related will thereby be facilitated. Mutual understanding and sympathy will strongly reinforce the desire to be united in a common faith and order, and will make clearer how the respective contributions of each community can best be made available to all.

We recognize as a fact, without discussing whether it is based upon sound foundations, that in the episcopal Churches an apprehension exists that if episcopally conferred orders were added to the authority which non-episcopal ministers have received from their own communions, such orders might not be received and used in all cases in the sense or with the intention with which they are conferred. Upon this point there ought to be no room for doubt. The sense or intention in which any particular order of the ministry is conferred or accepted is the sense or intention in which it is held in the Universal Church. In conferring or in accepting such ordination neither the bishop ordaining nor the minister ordained should be understood to impugn thereby the efficacy of the minister's previous ministry.

The like principle applies to the ministration of sacraments. The minister acts not merely as the representative of the particular congregation then present, but in a larger sense he represents the Church Universal; and his intention and meaning should be our Lord's intention and meaning as delivered to and held by the Catholic Church. To

this end such sacramental matter and form should be used as shall exhibit the intention of the Church.

When communion has been established between the ordaining bishop of the Episcopal Church and the ordained minister of another communion, appropriate measures ought to be devised to maintain it by participating in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and by mutual counsel and cooperation.

We are not unmindful that occasions may arise when it might become necessary to take cognizance of supposed error of faith or of conduct, and suitable provision ought to be made for such cases.

In view of the limitations imposed by the law and practice of the Episcopal Church upon its bishops with regard to ordination, and the necessity of obtaining the approval of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church to the project we have devised, a form of canonical sanction has been prepared which is appended as a schedule to this statement. We who are members of the Episcopal Church are prepared to recommend its enactment. We who are members of Congregational Churches regard it as a wise basis upon which in the interests of Church unity, and without sacrifice on either side, the supplementary ordination herein contemplated might be accepted.

It is our conviction that such procedure as we here outline is in accordance, as far as it goes, with our Lord's purposes for his Church; and our fond hope is that it would contribute to heal the Church's divisions. In the mission field it might prove of great value in uniting the work. In small communities it might put an end to the familiar scandal of more churches than the spiritual needs of the people require. In the army and navy, chaplains so ordained could minister acceptably to the adherents of Christian bodies who feel compunctions about the regularity of a non-episcopal ministry. In all places an example of a practical approach to Christian unity, with the recognition

of diversities in organization and in worship, would be held up before the world. The will to unity would be strengthened, prejudices would be weakened, and the way would become open in the light of experience to bring about a more complete organic unity of Christian Churches.

While this plan is the result of conference in which members of only one denomination of non-episcopal Churches have taken part, it is comprehensive enough to include in its scope ministers of all other non-episcopal communions; and we earnestly invite their sympathetic consideration and concurrence.

New York, March 12, 1919.

Boyd Vincent, *Bishop of Southern Ohio*

Philip M. Rhinelander, *Bishop of Pennsylvania*

William H. Day, *Moderator of Congregational National Council*

Hubert C. Herring, *Secretary of National Council*

Wm. Cabell Brown, *Bishop of Virginia*

Hughell Fosbroke, *Dean of the Gen. Theol. Seminary*

Edmund S. Rousmaniere, *Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, Boston*

William T. Manning, *Rector of Trinity Church, New York*

Charles L. Slattery, *Rector of Grace Church, New York*

George Craig Stewart, *Rector of St. Luke's Church, Evanston, Ill.*

Howard B. St. George, *Professor in Nashotah Seminary*

Francis Lynde Stetson

Robert H. Gardiner

George Zabriskie, *Chancellor of the Diocese of New York*
Hon. Sec., 23 *Gramercy Park, New York*

Charles F. Carter, *Chairman of Ex. Committee of National Council*

APPENDIX

WILLISTON WALKER, *of the Commission on Organization*

ROBERT S. SMITH, *of Commission on Unity*

WILLIAM E. BARTON, *of Commission on Organization*

NEHEMIAH BOYNTON, *Ex. Moderator of National Council*

RAYMOND CALKINS, *Chairman of Congregational Commission on Unity*

ARTHUR F. PRATT, *Sec. of Commission on Unity*

WILLIAM T. MCELVEEN, *of Commission on Unity*

NEWMAN SMYTH, *of Commission on Unity*
HON. SEC., 54 *Trumbull Street, New Haven, Conn.*

SCHEDULE

FORM OF PROPOSED CANON

§ I. In case any minister who has not received episcopal ordination shall desire to be ordained by a Bishop of this Church to the Diaconate and to the Priesthood without giving up or denying his membership or his ministry in the Communion to which he belongs, the Bishop of the Diocese or Missionary District in which he lives, with the advice and consent of the Standing Committee or the Council of Advice, may confirm and ordain him.

§ II. The minister desiring to be so ordained shall satisfy the Bishop that he has resided in the United States at least one year; that he has been duly baptized with water in the name of the Trinity; that he holds the historic faith of the Church as contained in the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed; that there is no sufficient objections on grounds physical, mental, moral or spiritual; and that the ecclesiastical authority to which he is subject in the Communion to which he belongs consents to such ordination.

§ III. At the time of his ordination the person to be ordained shall subscribe and make in the presence of the

Bishop a declaration that he believes the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the Word of God and to contain all things necessary to salvation; that in the ministration of Baptism he will unfailingly baptize with water in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; and (if he is being ordained to the Priesthood) that in the celebration of the Holy Communion he will invariably use the elements of bread and wine, and will include in the service the words and acts of our Lord in the institution of the Sacrament, the Lord's Prayer, and (unless one of these Creeds has been used in the service immediately preceding the celebration of the Holy Communion) the Apostles', or the Nicene Creed as the symbol of the faith of the Holy Catholic Church; that when thereto invited by the Bishop of this Church having jurisdiction in the place where he lives, he will (unless unavoidably prevented) meet with such Bishop for Communion and for counsel and co-operation; and that he will hold himself answerable to the Bishop of this Church having jurisdiction in the place where he lives, or, if there be no such Bishop, to the Presiding Bishop of this Church, in case he be called in question with respect to error of faith or of conduct.

§ IV. In case a person so ordained be charged with error of faith or of conduct he shall have reasonable notice of the charge and reasonable opportunity to be heard, and the procedure shall be similar to the procedure in the case of a clergyman of this Church charged with the like offense. The sentence shall always be pronounced by the Bishop and shall be such as a clergyman of this Church would be liable to. It shall be certified to the ecclesiastical authority to which the defendant is responsible in any other Communion. If he shall have been tried before a tribunal of the Communion in which he has exercised his ministry, the judgment of such tribunal proceeding in the due exercise of its jurisdiction shall be taken as conclusive evidence of facts thereby adjudged.

§ V. A minister so ordained may officiate in a Diocese or Missionary District of this Church when licensed by the ecclesiastical authority thereof, but he shall not become the Rector or a minister of any parish or congregation of this Church until he shall have subscribed and made to the Ordinary a declaration in writing whereby he shall solemnly engage to conform to the doctrine, discipline and worship of this Church. Upon his making such declaration and being duly elected Rector or minister of a parish or congregation of this Church, and complying with the canons of this Church and of the Diocese or Missionary District in that behalf, he shall become for all purposes a Minister of this Church.

6. PROPOSALS FOR ORGANIC UNITY INITIATED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U. S. A.

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1918 adopted a resolution calling for a conference with other Protestant churches to consider and to prepare a plan for organic Church union. In response to that invitation representatives of the Presbyterian and seventeen other churches met in December of 1918 and adopted, unanimously, a report, of which the substantial parts are as follows:

In view of the wide opportunity and solemn obligation of the hour, the following action is taken:

1. That the members of this Conference from each communion, whether present in official or personal capacity, be asked as soon as possible to appoint representatives on an *Ad Interim* Committee to carry forward the movement toward Organic Union here initiated.

2. The committee shall be composed of one member

from each communion, and one additional member for each 500,000 communicants, or major fraction thereof. In addition, the Foreign Missions Conference and the Home Mission Council shall each be asked to name one member.

3. The same privilege of membership on the Committee shall be extended to evangelical denominations not represented here.

4. The members of the Committee appointed by the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. are asked to act as the nucleus and convener of the *ad interim* Committee.

5. This *ad interim* Committee shall be charged with the following duties:

(a) To develop and use at its discretion, agencies and methods for discovering and creating interest in the subject of Organic Union throughout the Churches of the country.

(b) To make provision for presenting by personal delegations, or otherwise, to the national bodies of all the evangelical communions of the United States, urgent invitations to participate in an Interdenominational Council on Organic Union.

(c) To lay before the bodies thus approached the steps necessary for the holding of such Council, including the plan and basis of representation, and the date of the Council which shall be as early as possible, and in any event, not later than 1920.

(d) To prepare for presentation to such Council when it shall assemble a suggested plan or plans of Organic Union.

(e) To consider and report upon any legal matters related to the plan or plans of union which it may propose.

6. In addition to the above, the *Ad Interim* Committee is directed to report to the Interdenominational Council on any and all matters within the field of its inquiries. The Committee will be subject to the jurisdiction of the Council.

In requesting the *Ad Interim* Committee to undertake the arduous task outlined, the Conference desires the Committee to proceed with freedom at every point. As of possible

assistance, however, in the deliberations, the Conference expresses its present judgment as to certain aspects of the problem to be faced.

1. The Conference is profoundly solicitous that the effort for organic union shall have first regard to those forces of vital spiritual life which alone give meaning to our effort. No mechanical uniformity must be sought, nor any form of organization which ignores or thwarts the free movement of the Spirit of God, in the hearts of His servants.

2. In line with this desire the Conference hopes the Committee will be able to devise plans so broad and flexible as to make place for all the evangelical churches of the land, whatever their outlook of tradition, temperament or taste, whatever their relationships racially or historically.

3. The Conference regards with deep interest and warm approbation all the movements of our time towards closer co-operative relations between communions, especially the notable service rendered by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. While the *Ad Interim* Committee's aim and function will lie in a field entirely different from those movements, it will be expected to maintain sympathetic relations with them, and to regard with satisfaction any reinforcement which its activities may bring to them.

4. The notice of the Committee is directed to the efforts for Organic Union represented in other lands, especially the Churches of Canada. The remarkable and significant statement recently issued by a joint committee of Anglican and Free Churches of Great Britain will also call for the study of the Committee.

5. The Conference calls attention to the fact that in its search for a plan of Organic Union, the Committee will not be precluded from considering plans of Federal Union such as are in varying forms present to the minds of members of this Conference. Our nation is a federal union but is not the less an organic union. Care should be used not to con-

fuse the term "federal" as thus employed, with this meaning when used to signify "associated" or "co-operative."

The *Ad interim* Committee, as called for by this action, has been appointed, and they are now engaged in preparing a plan of unity to present to an interdenominational council.

7. THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT

THERE has been laid before the various mission boards, executive commissions and officials of the evangelical communions of North America a plan for united study and united effort to assure the support of the mission work of those communions at home and abroad. This plan will be submitted to the national bodies of the churches at their meetings during the spring and fall of 1919.

The main features of the plan are four in number:

1. A United Study of the World Field. County by county in this country and mission by mission in foreign lands, it is proposed that the exact facts be discovered to the end that the needs of each community and region may be appraised and the whole task of the whole church put in clear light and due proportion.

2. A United Budget. On the basis of the world survey it is proposed that a single joint budget be made, every item of which shall approve itself to the judgment of the several mission boards, so far as it relates to the work of each board, and have the approval of a strong interdenominational committee aided by experts in the various fields covered, this committee to review and harmonize the details. While this budget will be for a single year, it will take account of the needs of a five year period.

3. A United Appeal. During a given number of days at some point in 1920 it is proposed that the fifty million people constituting the Protestant constituency of America be asked, community by community, to underwrite the

united budget for the year ahead, payment of pledges to be made week by week through customary church channels. There will be a united treasury to care for undesignated gifts.

4. A United Program of Work. It is proposed that this plan shall carry the steadily growing co-operation of recent years in the mission field on to the point of the most complete co-ordination which the conditions of our separate organizations permit. Funds secured will be expended with detailed regard to the requirements of fraternal co-operation.

A preliminary organization has been effected to carry out these proposals, a large General Committee from different parts of the country has been formed, and conferences are being held throughout the nation to make known the plans and purposes and to secure general support of this movement.

8. PREPARATION FOR CONVENING THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND ORDER

AN Episcopal delegation has carried its invitation to all the churches in continental Europe that could be visited since the armistice, and they have received generally favorable responses. Plans and means for the convening of the Conference will now be considered and the remaining task of gathering together so great a representative body from all peoples of the earth be finally accomplished. It opens possibilities of a League of Churches of all nations such as could not have been anticipated when the plan was first conceived.

The movements above noticed relate to proposals for some form of corporate union. Besides these, numerous co-operative movements, successful community services, and

union of churches in many localities have taken place; the War Commissions of the different churches have co-operated in the appointment of chaplains, and Christian work in the camps; the Federal Council of the Churches has proved to be an efficient means of unification and support in these good works; all together they have served to create a general desire for Church unity and a belief in its practicability. It is from no lack of appreciation of what has thus been accomplished in the unification in work of the Christian forces of the country, that all these co-operative works are not more specifically noticed here; to give an account at all adequate of them would require an entire volume.

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